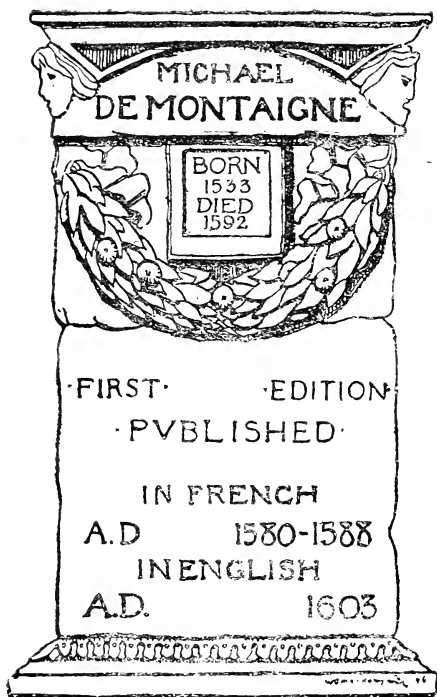


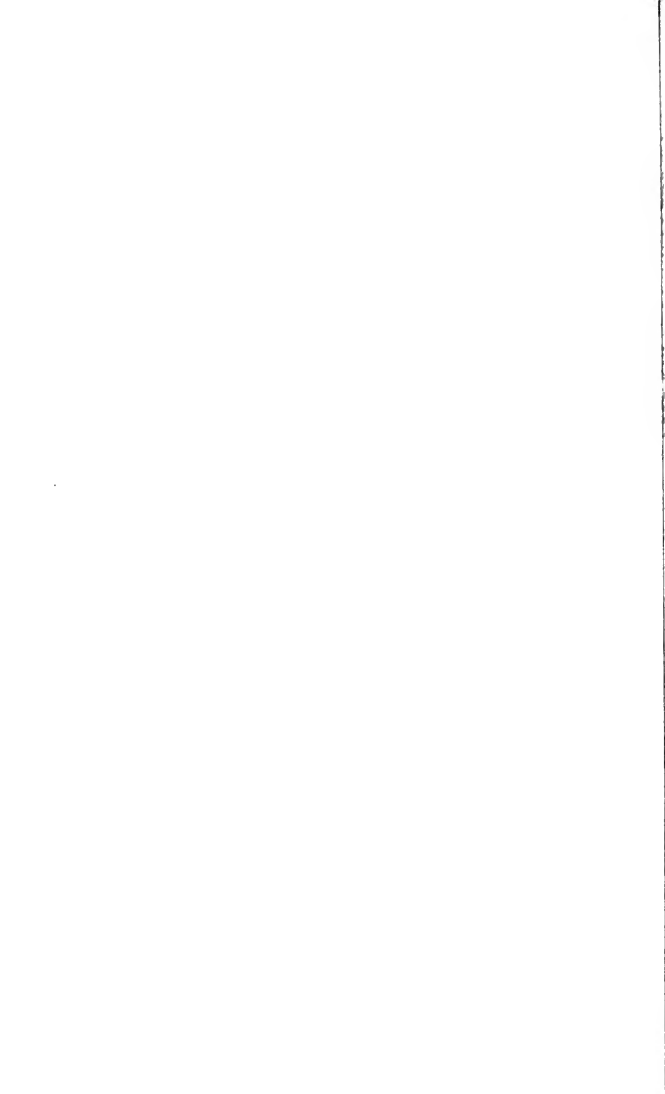
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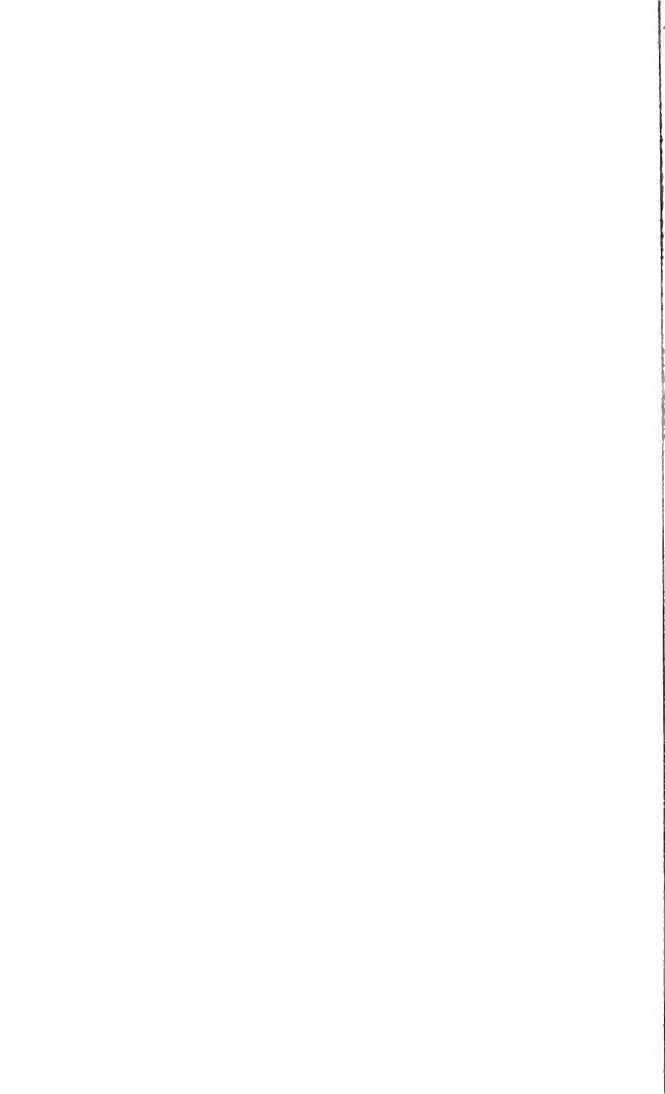
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THE  
TEMPLE  
CLASSICS

Edited by  
ISRAEL  
GOLLANCZ  
M.A.







*Michel de Montaigne*



The  
of MICHAEL  
LORD of

TRANSLATED  
BY JOHN

The  
first BOOKE  
VOLUME I



# A Table of the Chapters of the First Booke

	<i>Page</i>
1. <i>By divers meanes men come to a like end . . . . .</i>	1
2. <i>Of sadnesse or sorrow . . . . .</i>	7
3. <i>Our affections are transported beyond our selves . . . . .</i>	13
4. <i>How the soule dischargeth her passions upon false objects, when the true faile it . . . . .</i>	25
5. <i>Whether the Captaine of a place besieged ought to sally forth to parly . . . . .</i>	29
6. <i>That the houres of parlies are dangerous</i>	34
7. <i>That our intention judgeth our actions .</i>	38
8. <i>Of idlenesse . . . . .</i>	40
9. <i>Of lyers . . . . .</i>	42
10. <i>Of ready or slow speech . . . . .</i>	51
11. <i>Of Prognostications . . . . .</i>	55
12. <i>Of Constancie . . . . .</i>	62
13. <i>Of ceremonies in the enterview of Kings</i>	66

# vi A TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS

	<i>Page</i>
14. Men are punished by too-much opiniating themselves in a place without reason . . . . .	68
15. Of the punishment of cowardise . . .	70
16. A tricke of certaine Ambassadors . .	73
17. Of Feare . . . . .	78
18. That we should not judge of our happiness, untill after our death . . .	83
19. That to Philosophize, is to learne how to dye . . . . .	87
20. Of the force of imagination . . .	116
21. The profit of one man is the damage of another . . . . .	135
22. Of Custome, and how a received Law should not easily be changed . . .	136
23. Divers events from one selfe same counsell . . . . .	164
24. Of Pedantisme . . . . .	182
25. Of the institution and education of children: to the Lady Diana of Foix . . . . .	203
26. It is folly to referre Trueth or Falseness to our sufficiencie . . . .	268



*The remaining chapters of the First Book  
will constitute the second volume  
of the present edition*

## THE AUTHOR TO THE READER

READER, loe here a well-meaning Booke. It doth at the first entrance forewarne thee, that in contriving the same, I have proposed unto my selfe no other than a familiar and private end: I have no respect or consideration at all, either to thy service, or to my glory: my forces are not capable of any such desseigne. I have vowed the same to the particular commodity of my kinsfolks and friends: to the end, that losing me (which they are likely to doe ere long) they may therein find some lineaments of my conditions and humours, and by that meanes reserve more whole, and more lively foster the knowledge and acquaintance they have had of me. Had my intention beene to forestal and purchase the worlds opinion and favour, I would surely have adorned my selfe more quaintly, or kept a more grave and solemne march. I desire therein to be delineated in mine owne genuine, simple and ordinarie fashion, without contention, art or study; for it is my selfe I pourtray. My imperfections shall therein be read to the life, and my naturall forme discerned, so farre-forth as publike reverence hath permitted me. For if my fortune had beene to have lived among those nations, which yet are said to live under the sweet liberty of Natures first and uncorrupted lawes, I assure thee, I would most willingly have pourtrayed my selfe fully and naked. Thus gentle Reader my selfe am the groundworke of my booke: It is then no reason thou shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and vaine a Subject. Therefore fare-well. From *Montaigne*, the first of March.

1580.

THE  
ESSAYES OF  
*MICHAEL* LORD OF  
MONTAIGNE

*The first Booke*

CHAP. I

By divers meanes men come unto a like end

THE most usuall way to appease those minds How to  
appease  
offended  
minds  
we have offended (when revenge lies in  
their hands, and that we stand at their mercy)  
is, by submission to move them to commiseration  
and pittie: Neverthelesse, courage, constancie,  
and resolution (meanes altogether opposite) have  
sometimes wrought the same effect. *Edward*  
the black Prince of *Wales* (who so long governed  
our Country of *Guienne*, a man whose conditions  
and fortune were accompanied with many notable  
parts of worth and magnanimitie) having beene  
grievously offended by the *Limosins*, though he  
by maine force tooke and entred their Citie,  
could by no meanes be appeased, nor by the  
wailefull out-cries of all sorts of people (as of

sir John men, women, and children) be moved to any  
 of Ville- pitty, they prostrating themselves to the common  
 mur, sir slaughter, crying for mercy, and humbly submit-  
 Hugh de ting themselves at his feet, untill such time as in  
 la Roche, triumphant manner passing thorow their Citie,  
 Roger he perceived three French Gentlemen, who  
 Beaufort alone, with an incredible and undaunted bold-  
 nesse, gainstood the enraged violence, and made  
 head against the furie of his victorious armie.  
 The consideration and respect of so notable a  
 vertue, did first abate the dint of his wrath, and  
 from those three began to relent, and shew mercy  
 to all the other inhabitants of the said towne.  
*Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epirus*, following one of  
 his souldiers, with purpose to kill him, who by  
 all means of humilitie, and submissee entreatie,  
 had first assaied to pacifie him, in such an un-  
 avoidable extremitie, resolved at last, resolutely  
 to encounter him with his sword in his hand.  
 This resolution did immediately stay his Captains  
 fury, who seeing him undertake so honourable  
 an attempt, not only forgave, but received him  
 into grace and favour. This example may haply,  
 of such as have not knowne the prodigious force  
 and matchlesse valour of the said Prince, admit  
 another interpretation. The Emperour *Conradus*,  
 third of that name, having besieged *Guelphe*,  
 Duke of *Bavaria*, what vile or base satisfaction  
 soever was offered him, would yeeld to no other  
 milder conditions, but only to suffer such Gentle-  
 women as were with the Duke in the Citie (their  
 honours safe) to issue out of the Towne afoot,  
 with such things as they could carry about them.

They with an unrelenting courage advised and resolved themselves (neglecting all other riches or jewels) to carry their husbands, their children, and the Duke himselfe, on their backs: The Emperour perceiving the quaintnesse of their device, tooke so great pleasure at it, that hee wept for joy, and forthwith converted that former inexorable rage, and mortall hatred he bare the Duke, into so milde a relenting and gentle kindnesse, that thence forward he entreated both him and his with all favour and courtesie. Either of these wayes might easily perswade mee: for I am much inclined to mercie, and affected to mildnesse. So it is, that in mine opinion, I should more naturally stoope unto compassion, than bend to estimation. Yet is pittie held a vicious passion among the Stoicks. They would have us aid the afflicted, but not to faint, and co-suffer with them. These examples seeme fittest for mee, forsomuch as these minds are seene to be assaulted and environed by these two meanes, in undauntedly suffering the one, and stooping under the other. It may peradventure be said, that to yeeld ones heart unto commiseration, is an effect of facility, tendernesse, and meeknesse: whence it proceedeth, that the weakest natures, as of women, children, and the vulgar sort are more subject unto it. But (having contemned teares and wailings) to yeeld unto the onely reverence of the sacred Image of vertue, is the effect of a couragious and imployable minde, holding a masculine and constant vigour, in honour and affection. Notwithstanding, amaze-

The  
women of  
Weins-  
berg,  
Bavaria,  
1140

The  
Theban  
captains  
and  
Phyton

ment and admiration may in lesse generous minds worke the like effect. Witnesse the Thebanes, who having accused and indited their Captaines, as of a capitall crime, forsomuch as they had continued their charge beyond the time prescribed them, absolved and quit *Pelopidas* of all punishment, because he submissively yeelded under the burden of such objections, and to save himselfe, imployed no other meanes, but suing-requests, and demisse intreaties; where on the contrary, *Epaminondas* boldly relating the exploits atchieved by him, and with a fierce and arrogant manner upbraiding the people with them, had not the heart so much as to take their lots into his hands, but went his way, and was freely absolved; the assembly much commending the stoutnesse of his courage. *Dionysius* the elder, after long-linging and extreme difficulties, having taken the Citie of *Reggio*, and in it the Captaine *Phyton*, (a worthy honest man) who had so obstinately defended the same, would needs shew a tragicall example of revenge. First, he told him, how the day before, he had caused his sonne and all his kinsfolkes to be drowned. To whom *Phyton*, stoutly out-staring him, answered nothing, but that they were more happy than himselfe by the space of one day. Afterward he caused him to be stripped, and by his executioners to be taken and dragged thorow the Citie most ignominiously, and cruelly whipping him, charging him besides with outrageous and contumelious speeches. All which notwithstanding, as one no whit dismayed, he ever

shewed a constant and resolute heart; and with a cheerefull and bold countenance went on still, loudly recounting the honourable and glorious cause of his death, which was, that he would never consent to yeeld his Country into the hands of a cruell tyrant, menacing him with an imminent punishment of the Gods. *Dionysius* plainly reading in his Souldiers lookes, that in lieu of animating them with braving his conquered enemy, they in contempt of him, and scorne of his triumph, seemed by the astonishment of so rare a vertue, to be moved with compassion, and inclined to mutinie, yea, and to free *Phyton* from out the hands of his *Sergeants* or *Guard*, caused his torture to cease, and secretly sent him to be drowned in the sea. Surely, man is a wonderful, vaine, divers, and wavering subject: it is very hard to ground any directly-constant and uniforme judgement upon him. Behold *Pompey*, who freely pardoned all the Citie of the *Mamertines*, (against which he was grievously enraged) for the love of the magnanimitie, and consideration of the exceeding vertue of *Zeno*, one of their fellow-citizens, who tooke the publike fault wholly upon himselfe, and desired no other favour, but alone to beare the punishment thereof; whereas *Syllaes* host having used the like vertue in the Citie of *Perugia*, obtained nothing, neither for himselfe, nor for others. And directly against my first example, the hardiest amongst men, and so gracious to the vanquished, *Alexander* the great, after many strange difficulties, forcing the Citie of *Gaza*,

Man is a  
wonder-  
fully  
wavering  
subject

Alexander and  
Betis

encountred by chance with *Betis*, that commanded therein, of whose valour (during the siege) he had felt wonderfull and strange exploits, being then alone, forsaken of all his followers, his armes all-broken, all-besmeared with bloud and wounds, fighting amongst a number of Macedonians, who pell-mell laid still upon him; provoked by so deare a victorie, (for among other mishaps he had newly received two hurts in his body) said thus unto him; *Betis, thou shalt not die as thou wouldest: for make account thou must indure all the torments may possibly bee devised or inflicted upon a caitife wretch, as thou art.* But he, for all his enemies threats, without speaking one word, returned only an assured, sterne, and disdainefull countenance upon him; which silent obstinacie *Alexander* noting, said thus unto himselfe: *What? would hee not bend his knee? could he not utter one suppliant voyce? I will assuredly vanquish his silence, and if I cannot wrest a word from him, I will at least make him to sob or groane.* And converting his anger into rage, commanded his heeles to bee through-pierced, and so all alive with a cord through them, to be torne, mangled, and dismembred at a carts-taile. May it be, the force of his courage, was so naturall and peculiar unto him, that because he would no-whit admire him, he respected him the lesse? or deemed he it so proper unto himselfe, that in his height, he could not without the spight of envious passion, endure to see it in an other? or was the naturall violence of his rage incapable of any opposition? surely, had it



received any restraint, it may be supposed, that in the ransacking and desolation of the Citie of *Thebes*, it should have felt the same; in seeing so many Worthies lost, and valiant men put to the sword, as having no meanes of publike defence; for above six thousand were slaine and massacred, of which not one was seene, either to run away, or beg for grace. But on the contrary, some here and there seeking to affront, and endeavouring to check their victorious enemies, urging and provoking them to force them die an honourable death. Not one was seene to yeeld, and that to his last gaspe did not attempt to revenge himselfe, and with all weapons of dispaire, with the death of some enemy, comfort and sweeten his owne miserie. Yet could not the affliction of their vertue find any ruth or pitie, nor might one day suffice to glut or assuage his revengefull wrath. This butcherous slaughter continued unto the last drop of any remaining bloud; where none were spared but the unarmed and naked, the aged and impotent, the women and children; that so from amongst them, they might get thirtie thousand slaves.

The sack  
of Thebes

## CHAP. II

### Of Sadnesse or Sorrowe

NO man is more free from this passion than I, for I neither love nor regard it: albeit the world hath undertaken, as it were upon

The sor-  
rows of  
Psam-  
neticus

covenant, to grace it with a particular favour. Therewith they adorne age, vertue, and conscience. Oh foolish and base ornament! The Italians have more properly with it's name entituled malignitie: for, it is a qualitie ever hurtfull, ever sottish; and as ever base and coward, the Stoikes inhibit their Elders and Sages to be therewith tainted, or have any feeling of it. But the Storie saith; that *Psamneticus* king of *Ægypt*, having been defeated and taken by *Cambises* king of *Persia*, seeing his owne daughter passe before him in base and vile aray, being sent to draw water from a well, his friends weeping and wailing about him (he with his eyes fixed on the ground, could not be moved to utter one word), and shortly after beholding his sonne led to execution, held still the same undaunted countenance: but perceiving a familiar friend of his haled amongst the captives, he began to beat his head, and burst forth into extreame sorrow. This might well be compared to that which one of our Princes was lately seene to doe, who being at *Trent*, and receiving newes of his elder brothers death; but such a brother as on him lay all the burthen and honour of his house; and shortly after tidings of his yonger brothers decease, who was his second hope; and having with an unmatched countenance and exemplar constancie endured these two affronts; it fortun'd not long after, that one of his servants dying, he by this latter accident suffered himselfe to be so far transported, that quitting and forgetting his former resolution, he

so abandoned himselfe to all manner of sorrow and grieve, that some argued, only this last mischance had toucht him to the quicke: but verily the reason was, that being otherwise full, and over-plunged in sorrow, the least surcharge brake the bounds and barres of patience. The like might (I say) be judged of our storie, were it not it followeth, that *Cambises* inquiring of *Psamneticus*, why he was nothing distempered at the misfortune of his sonne and daughter, he did so impatiently beare the disaster of his friend : *It is*, answered he, *Because this last displeasure may be manifested by weeping, whereas the two former exceed by much, all meanes and compasse to bee expressed by teares.* The invention of that ancient Painter might happily fit this purpose, who in the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, being to represent the grieve of the by-standers, according to the qualitie and interest each one bare for the death of so faire, so young and innocent a Lady, having ransacked the utmost skill and effects of his art, when he came to the Virgins father, as if no countenance were able to represent that degree of sorrow, he drew him with a vaile over his face. And that is the reason why our Poets faine miserable *Niobe*, who first having lost seven sonnes, and immediately as many daughters, as one over-burthened with their losses, to have been transformed into a stone ;

Some  
sorrows  
too deep  
for tears

*Diriguisse malis :*

—OVID. *Metam.* vi. 303.

And grew as hard as stone,  
By miserie and moane.

And some  
sorrows  
benumb

Thereby to expresse this mournfull silent stupiditie, which so doth pierce us, when accidents surpassing our strength orewhelme us. Verily the violence of a griefe, being extreme, must needs astonie the mind, and hinder the liberty of her actions. As it hapneth at the sudden alarum of some bad tidings, when we shall feele our selves surprised, benumbed, and as it were deprived of all motion, so that the soule bursting afterward forth into teares and complaints, seemeth at more ease and libertie, to loose, to cleare and dilate it selfe.

*Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est,*

—VIRG. *Aen.* xi. 151.

And scarce at last for speech,  
By griefe was made a breach.

In the warres which king *Ferdinando* made against the widow of *John* king of *Hungaria*, about *Buda*; a man at armes was particularly noted of all men, forsomuch as in a certaine skirmish he had shewed exceeding prowesse of his body, and though unknowne, being slaine, was highly commended and much bemoaned of all: but yet of none so greatly as of a Germane Lord, called *Raisciac*, as he that was amased at so rare vertue: his body being covered and had off, this Lord, led by a common curiositie, drew neere unto it, to see who it might be, and having caused him to be disarmed, perceived him to be his owne sonne; which knowne, did greatly augment the compassion of all the camp: he only without framing word, or closing his eyes,

but earnestly viewing the dead body of his sonne, **Passion**  
 stood still upright, till the vehemencie of his sad **also**  
 sorrow, having suppressed and choaked his vitall **silences**  
 spirits, fell'd him starke dead to the ground.

*Chi puo dir com' egli arde è in picciol fuoco,*  
 —PET. p. i. Son. 140.

He that can say how he doth frie  
 In pettie-gentle flames doth lie,

say those Lovers that would lively represent an  
 intolerable passion.

*miserò quod omnes*  
*Eripit sensus mihi; Nam simul te*  
*Lesbia aspexi, nihil est super mi*  
*Quod loquar amens.*  
*Lingua sed torpet, tenuis sub artus*  
*Flamma dimanat, sonitu suopte*  
*Tinniunt aures, gemina teguntur*  
*Lumina nocte.*—CATUL. Epig. xlviii. 5.

miserably from me  
 This bereaves all sense: for I can no sooner  
 Eie thee my sweet heart, but I wot not one word  
 to speake amazed.  
 Tongue-tide as in trance, while a sprightly thin  
 flame  
 Flowes in all my joynts, with a selfe-resounding  
 Both my eares tingle, with a night redoubled  
 Both mine eies are veild.

Nor is it in the liveliest, and most ardent heat  
 of the fit, that wee are able to display our plaints  
 and perswasions, the soule being then aggravated  
 with heaue thoughts, and the body suppressed  
 and languishing for love. And thence is some-  
 times engendered that casuall faintnes, which so

Some unseasonably surpriseth passionate Lovers, and have died that chilnesse, which by the [power of an extreame heate doth seize on them in the verie midst of their joy and enjoying. All passions that may be tasted and digested, are but meane and slight.]

*Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

—SEN. *Hip.* Act. ii. Scena 2.

Light cares can freely speake,  
Great cares heart rather breake.

The surprize of an unexpected pleasure astonieth us alike.

*Ut me conspexit venientem, et Troja circum  
Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstis,  
Diriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,  
Labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore fatur.*

—VIRG. *Ænead.* iii. 306.

When she beheld me come, and round about  
Senselesse saw Trojan armes, she stood afraid  
Stone-still at so strange sights: life heat flew out.  
She faints: at last, with long pause thus she said.

Besides the Romane Ladie, that died for joy to see her sonne returne alive from the battell of *Cannæ*, *Sophocles* and *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who deceased through over-gladnes: and *Talva*, who died in *Corsica*, reading the newes of the honours the Roman Senate had conferred upon him: It is reported that in our age, Pope *Leo* the tenth having received advertisement of the taking of the Citie of *Millane*, which he had so exceedingly desired, entred into such excesse of joy, that he fell into an ague, whereof he

shortly died. And for a more authentick testimonie of humane imbecillitie, it is noted by our Ancients, that *Diodorus* the Logician, being surprized with an extreme passion or apprehension of shame, fell downe starke dead, because neither in his Schoole, nor in publique, he had beene able to resolve an argument propounded unto him. I am little subject to these violent passions. I have naturally a hard apprehension, which by discourse I daily harden more and more.

Montaigne  
little  
subject to  
passion

## CHAP. III

Our affections are transported beyond  
our selves

THOSE which still accuse men for ever gaping after future things, and go about to teach us, to take hold of present fortunes, and settle our selves upon them, as having no hold of that which is to come; yea much lesse than we have of that which is already past, touch and are ever harping upon the commonest humane error, if they dare call that an error, to which Nature her selfe, for the service of the continuation of her worke, doth addresse us, imprinting (as it doth many others) this false imagination in us, as more jealous of our actions, than of our knowledge. We are never in our selves, but beyond. Feare, desire, and hope, draw us ever towards that which is to come, and remove our

**Know thyself** sense and consideration from that which is, to amuse us on that which shall be, yea when we shall be no more. *Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius* (SEN. *Epi.* 98). *A minde in suspense what is to come, is in a pittifull case.*

This notable precept is often alleaged in *Plato*. *Follow thy businesse and know thy selfe*; Each of these two members, doth generally imply all our duty; and likewise enfolds his companion. He that should doe his businesse, might perceive that his first lesson is, to know what he is, and what is convenient for him. And he that knoweth himselfe, takes no more anothers matters for his owne, but above all other things, loveth and correcteth himselfe, rejecteth superfluous occupations, idle imaginations, and unprofitable propositions. As if you grant follie what it desireth, it will no-whit be satisfied; so is wisdome content with that which is present, and never displeased with it selfe. *Epicurus* doth dispense with his [s]age touching the foresight and care of what shal insue. Amongst the lawes that regard the deceased, that which ties the actions of Princes to be examined when they are dead, seemes to me verie solid. They are companions, if not masters of the lawes: That which justice could not worke on their heads, it is reason it effect upon their reputation, and goods of their successors: things wee many times preferre before our lives. It is a custome brings many singular commodities unto nations that observe it, and to be desired of all good Princes: who have cause to complaine that the memorie of the wicked is



used as theirs. Wee owe a like obedience and subjection to all Kings; for it respects their office: but estimation and affection, we owe it only to their vertue. If they be unworthy, wee are to endure them patiently, to conceale their vices, and to aid their indifferent actions with our commendations, as long as their authoritie hath need of our assistance, and that ought to be ascribed unto politike order. But our commerce with them being ended, there is no reason we should refuse the unfolding of our felt wrongs unto justice and our libertie. And specially to refuse good subjects, the glory to have reverently and faithfully served a master, whose imperfections were so well knowne unto them: exempting posteritie from so profitable an example. And such as for the respect of some private benefit or interest, doe wickedly embrace the memorie of an unworthy Prince, doe particular justice at the charge of publike justice. *Titus Livius* speaketh truly, where he saith, that the speech of men brought up under a royaltie is ever full of vaine ostentations, and false witnesses; every man indifferently extolling the King, to the furthest straine of valour and soveraigne greatnesse. The magnanimitie of those two Souldiers may be reprov'd, one of which being demanded of *Nero*, why he hated him, answered him to his teeth; I loved thee whilst thou wast worthy of love, but since thou becamest a parricide, a fire-brand, a Juglar, a Player, and a Coach-man, I hate thee, as thou deservest. The other being asked, wherefore he sought to kill him, answered, Because

Respect  
due to  
worth  
before  
rank

**Aristotle** I finde no other course to hinder thy uncessant  
**hath an** outrages and impious deeds. But can any man,  
**oar in** that hath his senses about him, justly reprove  
**every** the publike and generall testimonies that since  
**water** his death have beene given, and so shall be for  
 ever, both against him and all such like repro-  
 bates, of his tyrannicall and wicked demeanours?  
 I am sorrie that in so sacred a policie as the  
 Lacedemonian was, so fained and fond a cere-  
 monie at the death of their Kings was ever  
 devised and brought in use. All their confede-  
 rates and neighbours, all the slave-He[1]otes,  
 men and women pell-mell, for a testimonie of  
 their grieve and sorrow, did mangle and gash  
 their foreheads, and in their out-cries and la-  
 mentations exclaimed, that their deceased King,  
 howsoever he had lived, was and had beene the  
 best Prince that ever they had, ascribing in  
 order the commendations due unto desert, and  
 to the last and latter ranke, what belongs unto  
 the first merit. *Aristotle* that hath an oare in  
 every water, and medleth with all things, makes  
 a question about *Solons* speech, who saith, that  
 no man can truly be counted happy before his  
 death, Whether he that lived and died accord-  
 ing to his wish, may be named happy, whether  
 his renowne be good or ill, and whether his  
 posteritie be miserable or no. Whilest wee  
 stirre and remove, wee transport our selves by  
 preoccupation wheresoever wee list : but no  
 sooner are wee out of being, but wee have no  
 communication at all with that which is. And  
 it were better to tell *Solon*, that never man is

happy then, since he never is so, but when he is no more.

The dead  
treated  
as though  
alive

—*Quisquam*

*Vix radicitus è vita se tollit, et ejicit :  
Sed facit esse sui quiddam super inscius ipse,  
Nec removet satis à projecto corpore sese, et  
Vindicat.*—LUCRET. *Rer. nat.* iii. 912.

Scarce any rids himselfe of life so cleere,  
But leaves unwitting some part of him heere :  
Nor frees or quits himselfe sufficiently  
From that his body which forlorne doth lie.

*Bertrand* of *Gelsquin* died at the siege of the castle of *Rancon*, neere unto *Puy* in *Avergne* : the besieged yeelding afterward, were forced to carry the keies of the Castle, upon the deceased [body] of the Captaine. *Bartholomew* of *Alviano*, Generall of the Venetian forces dying in their service and wars about *Brescia*, and his bodie being to be transported to *Venice*, through the territory of *Verona*, which then wasemie unto them, the greatest part of the army thought it expedient to demand a safe conduct for their passage of those of *Verona*, to which *Theodoro Trivulcio* stoutly opposed himselfe, and chose rather to passe it by maine force, and to hazard the day, saying it was not convenient, that he who in his life time had never apprehended feare of his enemies should now being dead, seeme to feare them. Verily in like matters, by the lawes of *Greece*, hee that required a dead body of his enemies, with intent to bury the same, renounced the victory,

Belief in  
the power  
of relics

and might no more erect any trophy of it : and he who was so required, purchased the title of honour and gaine. So did *Nicias* lose the advantage hee had clearely gained of the Corinthians ; and contrariwise, *Agesilaus* assured that, hee doubtfully had gotten of the Bœtians. These actions might bee deemed strange, if in all ages it were not a common-received opinion, not only to extend the care of our selves, beyond this life, but also to beleeeve, that heavenly favours doe often accompany us unto our grave, and continue in our posterity. Whereof there are so many examples (leaving our moderne a part) that I need not wade farre into it.

*Edward* the first King of *England*, in the long wars he had with *Robert* King of *Scotland*, having by triall found how greatly his presence advantaged the successe of his affaires, and how he was ever victorious in any enterprise he undertooke in his owne person ; when hee died, bound his sonne by solemne oath, that being dead he should cause his body to be boyled, untill the flesh fell from the bones, which he should cause to be interred, and carefully keeping the bones, ever carry them about him, whensoever hee should happen to have wars with the Scots : As if destiny had fatally annexed the victory unto his limmes. *John Zisca*, who for the defence of *Wickliffs* opinions so much troubled the state of *Bohemia*, commanded that after his death his body should be flead, and a drum made of his skin, to be carried and sounded in all the wars against his enemies : deeming the sound

of it would be a meanes to continue the advantages, which in his former warres hee had obtained of them. Certaine Indians did likewise carry the bones of one of their Captaines in the skirmishes they had with the Spaniards, in regard of the good successe hee had, whilst hee lived, against them: And other nations of that new-found world, doe likewise carry the bodies of such worthy and fortunate men with them, as have died in their battels, to serve them in stead of good fortune and encouragement. The first examples reserve nothing else in their tombes, but the reputation acquired by their former atchievements: but these will also adjoyne unto it the power of working. The act of Captaine *Bayart* is of better composition, who perceiving himselfe deadly wounded by a shot received in his body, being by his men perswaded to come off and retire himselfe from out the throng, answered, he would not now so neere his end, begin to turne his face from his enemie: and having stoutly foughten so long as he could stand, feeling himselfe to faint and stagger from his horse, commanded his steward to lay him against a tree, but in such sort, that he might die with his face toward the enemie; as indeed hee did. I may not omit this other example, as remarkable for this consideration, as any of the precedent. The Emperour *Maximilian*, great grand-father to *Philip* now King of *Spaine*, was a Prince highly endowed with many noble qualities, and amongst others with a well-nigh match-

The  
death of  
Captain  
Bayard

Ex- lesse beauty and comelinesse of body; but  
tremes in with other customes of his, hee had this one  
modesty much contrarie to other Princes, who to dis-  
patch their weightiest affaires make often their  
close stoole, their regall Throne or Councel-  
chamber, which was, that hee would not per-  
mit any groome of his chamber (were hee never  
so neere about him) to see him in his inner  
chamber, who if he had occasion but to make  
water, would as nicely and as religiously with-  
draw himselfe as any maiden, and never suffer  
so much as a Physitian, much lesse any other  
whatsoever, to see those privie parts that all  
in modestie seeke to keepe secret and unseene.  
My selfe, that am so broad-mouthed and lavish  
in speeches, am notwithstanding naturally touched  
with that bashfulnesse. And unlesse it bee by  
the motion of necessity or of voluptuousnesse,  
I never willingly imparted those actions and  
parts (which custome willeth to bee concealed)  
to the view of any creature. I endure more  
compulsion, than I deeme befitting a man,  
especially of my profession. But hee grew  
to such superstition, that by expresse words  
in his last will and Testament, hee commanded,  
that being dead, hee should have linnen-flops  
put about them. Hee should by codicile have  
annexed unto it, that hee who should put them  
on, might have his eies hood-winckt. The  
instruction which *Cyrus* giveth his children,  
that neither they nor any other should either  
see or touch his body, after the breath were  
once out of it; I ascribe it unto some motive

of devotion in him. For both his historian and himselfe, amongst many other notable qualities they are endued with, have throughout all the course of their life seemed to have a singular respect and awfull reverence unto religion. That story displeased mee very much, which a nobleman told me of a kinsman of mine (a man very famous and well known both in peace and warre) which is, that dying very aged in his court, being much tormented with extreme pangs of the stone, hee with an earnest and unwearied care, employed all his last houres, to dispose the honour and ceremony of his funerals, and summoned all the nobilitie that came to visit him, to give him assured promise to be as assistants, and to convey him to his last resting place. To the very same Prince, who was with him at his last gasp, he made very earnest suit, he would command all his household to wait upon him at his interment, inforcing many reasons, and alleaging divers examples, to prove that it was a thing very convenient, and fitting a man of his qualitie: which assured promise when he had obtained, and had at his pleasure marshalled the order how they should march, he seemed quietly and contentedly to yeeld up the ghost. I have seldome seene a vanitie continue so long. This other curiositie meere opposite unto it (which to prove I need not labour for home-examples) seemeth in my opinion cosen-german to this, that is, when one is ever ready to breathe his last, carefully and passionately to endeavour how to reduce the

Too  
much  
care  
over  
funerals

Let custom rule in obsequies

convoy of his obsequies unto some particular and unwonted parcimonie, to one servant and to one lanterne. I heare the humour and appointment of *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus* commended, who expresly forbade his heires to use those ceremonies about his interment, which in such cases were formerly accustomed. Is it temperance and frugalitie, to avoid charge and voluptuousnesse, the use and knowledge of which is imperceptable unto us? Loe here an easie reformation, and of small cost. Were it requisite to appoint any, I would be of opinion, that as well in that, as in all other actions of mans life, every man should referre the rule of it to the qualitie of his fortune. And the Philosopher *Lycon* did wisely appoint his friends to place his body where they should thinke it fittest and for the best: and for his obsequies, they should neither be superfluous and over-costly, nor base and sparing. For my part, I would wholly relie on custome, which should dispose this ceremonie, and would yeeld my selfe to the discretion of the first or next into whose hands I might chance to fall. *Totus hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non negligendus in nostris: All this matter should be despised of us, but not neglected of ours.* And religiously said a holy man; *Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quàm subsidia mortuorum* (*AUG. Civ. Dei, i. 12, verb. apost. ser. 32*). *The procuration of funerals, the maner of buriall, the pomp of obsequies, are rather comforts to the living, than helps to the dead.* Therefore *Socrates* answered *Griton*, who at the houre



of his death asked him how he would be buried : *Care of the*  
*Even as you please*, said he. Were I to meddle *Greeks*  
 further with this subject, I would deeme it more *for their*  
 gallant to imitate those who yet living and breath- *dead*  
 ing, undertake to enjoy the order and honour of  
 their sepulchres, and that please themselves to  
 behold their dead countenance in Marble. Happy  
 they that can rejoyce and gratifie their senses  
 with insensibilitie, and live by their death ! A  
 little thing would make me conceive an inex-  
 piable hatred against all popular domination ;  
 although it seeme most naturall and just unto  
 me ; when I call to minde that inhumane injustice  
 of the Athenians, who without further triall or  
 remission, yea without suffering them so much  
 as to reply or answer for themselves, condemned  
 those noble and worthy Captaines, that returned  
 victoriously from the sea-battell, which they  
 (neere the Iles *Arginuse*) had gained of the  
 Lacedemonians ; the most contested, bloodie and  
 greatest fight the Grecians ever obtained by sea  
 with their owne forces : forsomuch as after the  
 victory, they had rather followed those occasions,  
 which the law of warre presented unto them, for  
 their availe, than to their prejudice staid to gather  
 and bury their dead men. And the successe of  
*Diomedon* makes their ruthlesse execution more  
 hatefull, who being a man of notable and exem-  
 plar vertue, both military and politike, and of  
 them so cruelly condemned ; after he had heard  
 the bloody sentence, advancing himselfe forward  
 to speake, having fit opportunitie and plausible  
 audience ; he, I say, in stead of excusing him-

Superstition may be too costly selfe, or endeavouring to justifie his cause, or to exasperate the evident iniquity of so cruell a doome, expressed but a care of the Judges preservation, earnestly beseeching the Gods to turne that judgement to their good, praying that for want of not satisfying the vowes which hee and his companions had vowed in acknowledgement and thanksgiving for so famous a victory, and honourable fortune, they might not draw the wrath and revenge of the Gods upon them, declaring what their vowes were. And without more words, or urging further reasons, courageously addressed himselfe to his execution. But fortune some yeares after punished him alike, and made him taste of the verie same sauce. For *Chabrias*, Captaine Generall of their sea-fleet, having afterward obtained a famous victory of *Pollis*, Admirall of *Sparta*, in the Ile of *Naxos*, lost absolutely the benefit of it, and onely contented with the day (a matter of great consequence for their affaires) fearing to incurre the mischief of this example, and to save a few dead carcasses of his friends, that floated up and downe the sea, gave leasure to an infinite number of his living enemies, whom he might easily have surprized to saile away in safety, who afterward made them to purchase their importunate superstition, at a deere-deere rate.

*Quæris, quo jaceas, post obitum, loco?*

*Quo non nata jacent.*—SEN. *Troas.* chor. ii. 30.

Where shall you lie when you are dead?  
Where they lye that were never bred:

This other restores the sense of rest unto a body without a soule.

Death  
secretly  
related  
unto life

*Neque sepulchrum, quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis.  
Ubi, remissa humana vita, corpus requiescat à malis.*

—CIC. *Tusc. Qu. i. Enni.*

To turne in as a hav'n, have he no grave,  
Where life left, from all grieve he rest may have.

Even as Nature makes us to see, that many dead things have yet certaine secret relations unto life. Wine doth alter and change in sellers, according to the changes and alterations of the seasons of its vineyard. And the flesh of wilde beasts and venison doth change qualitie and taste in the powdering-tubs, according to the nature of living flesh, as some say that have observed it.

#### CHAP. IV

How the soule dischargeth her passions upon false objects, when the true faile it

A GENTLEMAN of ours exceedingly subject to the gowt, being instantly solicited by his Physitions, to leave all manner of salt-meats, was wont to answer pleasantly, that when the fits or pangs of the disease tooke him, hee would have some body to quarell with; and that crying and cursing, now against *Bolonie-*

The soul  
in its  
passion  
takes sausege, and sometimes by railing against salt  
neats-tongues, and gammons of bakon, he found  
some ease. But in good earnest even as the  
arme being lifted up to strike, if the stroke hit  
not, but fall void, wee feele some paine in it, and  
many times strike it out of joynt; and that to  
yeeld our sight pleasant, it must not be lost and  
dispersed in the vast ayre, but ought rather to  
have a limited bound to sustaine it by a reason-  
able distance.

*Ventus ut amittit vires, nisi robore densæ  
Occurrant silvæ, spatio diffusus inani.*—LUCAN, iii. 362.

As windes in emptie ayre diffus'd, strength lose,  
Unlesse thick-old-growne woods of their strength  
oppose.

So seemes it that the soule moved and tossed,  
if she have not some hold to take, loseth it  
selfe in it selfe, and must ever be stored with  
some object, on which it may light and worke.  
*Plutarch* saith fitly of those who affectionate  
themselves to Monkies and little Dogges, that  
the loving part which is in us, for want of a  
lawfull hold, rather than it will be idle, doth  
forge a false and frivolous hold unto it selfe.  
And wee see that the soule in her passions doth  
rather deceive it selfe, by framing a false and  
fantasticall subject unto it selfe, yea against her  
owne conceit, than not to worke upon something.  
So doth their owne rage transport beasts, to set  
upon the stone or weapon that hath hurt them;  
yea and sometimes with irefull teeth to revenge

themselves against themselves, for the hurt or hold of  
smart they feele. divers  
things

*Pannonis haud aliter post ictum sævior ursa  
Cui jaculum parva Lybis amentavit habena,  
Se rotat in vulnus, telumque irata receptum  
Impedit, et secum fugientem circuit hastam.*

—LUCAN, vi. 220.

Even so the wound-enraged Austrian beare,  
On whom a Moore hath thirl'd his slinged speare,  
Wheeles on her wound, and raging bites the dart,  
Circling that flies with her, and cannot part.

What causes doe wee not invent, for the  
crosses that happen unto us? bee it right, or  
wrong: what take we not hold of, to have  
something to strive withall? It is not the  
golden locks thou tearest, nor the whitenesse  
of the breast, which thou through vexation so  
cruelly dost smite, that have by meanes of an  
unluckie bullet, lost thy deere-beloved brother:  
on something else shouldest thou wreake thy  
selfe. *Livius* speaking of the Romane army in  
*Spaine*, after the losse of two great Captaines  
that were brethren. *Flere omnes repentè, et  
offensare capita* (Liv. dec. iii. lib. 5): *They all  
wept and often beat their heades.* It is an  
ordinarie custome: And the Philosopher *Byon*  
was very pleasant with the king, that for grieve  
tore his haire, when he said, *Doth this man  
thinke, that baldnesse will asswage his grieve?*  
who hath not seene some to chew and swallow  
cardes, and wel-nigh choake themselves with bales  
of dice, only to be revenged for the losse of some  
money? *Xerxes* whipped the Sea, and writ a

**Defiance of the gods** cartell of defiance to the hill *Athos*: And *Cyrus* for many daies together ammused his whole armie to be revenged of the river *Gyndus*, for the feare he tooke passing over the same: And *Caligula* caused a verie faire house to be defaced, for the pleasure his mother had received in the same. When I was young, my countrimen were wont to say, *That one of our neighbour-Kings, having received a blow at Gods hand, sware to be revenged on him, and ordained, that for ten yeares space no man should pray unto him, nor speak of him, nor (so long as he were in authority,) beleeve in him.* By which report, they doe not so much publish the sottishnesse, as the ambitious glorie, peculiar unto that nation of whom it was spoken. They are vices that ever goe together: But in truth such actions encline rather unto selfe-conceit, than to fondnes. *Augustus Caesar* having beene beaten by a tempest on the sea, defied the God *Neptune*, and in the celebration of the Circensian games, that so he might be avenged on him, he caused his image to be removed from out the place, where it stood amongst the other Gods; wherein he is also lesse excusable, than the former, and lesse than hee was afterward, when having lost a battell, under *Quintilius Varus* in *Germanie*, all in a rage and desperate, he went up and downe beating his head against the walls, mainly crying out: *Oh! Varus, restore me my Souldiers againe*: For, those exceed, all follie, (forsomuch as impietie is joyned unto it) that will wreake themselves against God, or fortune, as if she had

eaes subject to our batterie : In imitation of the Thracians, who when it lightens or thunders, begin with a Titanian revenge to shoot against heaven, thinking by shooting of arrowes to draw God to some reason. Now, as saith that ancient Poet in *Plutarch*,

The King  
of Mace-  
don  
ruined by  
a parly

*Point ne se faut corroucer aux affaires,  
Il ne leur chaut de toutes noz choleres.*—PLUTAR.

We ought not angry be at what God dooth,  
For he cares not who beares an angry tooth.

But we shall never raile enough against the disorder and unrulinesse of our minde.

## CHAP. V

Whether the Captaine of a place besieged  
ought to sallie forth to parlie

*LUCIUS MARCIUS* Legate of the Romans, in the warre against *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, desirous to get so much time, as he wanted to prepare his army, gave out some motives of accord, wherewith the King inveagled, yeelded unto a truce for certaine daies: by which meanes he furnished his enemy with opportunitie and leasure to arme himselfe: wherof proceeded the Kings last ruine and over-throw. Yet is it, that the elders of the Senate, mindfull of their forefathers customes, condemned this practice as an

Conquer  
by valour,  
not by  
craft

enemie to their ancient proceedings, which was, said they, to fight with vertue, and not with craft, nor by surprises, or stratagems by night, nor by set-flights, and unlookt-for approches, never undertaking a warre, but after it was proclaimed, yea many times after the appointed houre and place of the battell. With this conscience did they send backe to *Pirrhus* his traitorous Physitian, and to the *Phalisci* their disloyall schoole-master. These were true Romane proceedings, and not Grecian policies, nor Punike wiles, with whom to vanquish by force is lesse glorious than to conquer by treacherie. To deceive may serve for the instant, but hee only is judged to be overcome, that knowes he was not vanquished by craft or deceit, nor by fortune or chance, but by meere valour, betweene troupe and troupe, in an overt and just warre. It appeareth manifestly by the speech of these good men, they had not yet received this sentence.

—*Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?*

—VIRG. *Æneid.* ii. 390.

Deceit, or vertue, either, in foes, it skill's not whether.

The Achaians, saith *Polibius*, detested all manner of deceit in their warres, deeming that no victorie, where their enemies courages were not quelled. *Eam vir sanctus, et sapiens sciat esse victoriam veram, quæ salva fide, et integra dignitate parabitur. A wise and religious man will know that is victorie indeed, which shall be attained*



*with credit unimpeached, and dignitie untainted,* Declaration pre-  
saith another. cedes

*Vos ne velit, an me regnare hera, quid-ve ferat fors,  
Virtute experiamur.*

—Cic. *Offic.* i. ex Enn. de Pyrrh.

If fortune will have you to raigne, or me,  
And what chance bring's, let vertues triall be.

In the Kingdome of *Ternates*, among those nations, which wee so full-mouthed, call Barbarous, the custome beareth, that they never undertake a warre, before the same be denounced; thereunto adding an ample declaration of the meanes they have to employ therein, what manner, and how many men, what munition, and what Armes either offensive or defensive: which done, they also establish as a law, that without reproach or imputation, it shall be lawfull for any man, in their warres, to use what advantage soever, may in any sort further or helpe them to vanquish. The ancient *Florentines* were so far from desiring any advantage of their enemies by sudden surprises, that a moneth before they could bring their Armie into the field, they would give them warning, by the continuall sound of their common bell, which they called *Martinella*. As for us, who are lesse superstitious, and deeme him to have the honour of the warre, that hath the profit of it, and according to *Lisander*, say, that *Where the Lions-skinne will not suffice, wee must adde a scantling of the Foxes*; the most ordinarie occasions of surprises are drawne from this practice, and as wee say, there is no

war

No ruler should himself sally forth to parley time, wherein a Captaine ought to be more warie and circumspect to looke about him, than that of parlies, and treaties of accord: And therefore is it a common rule in the mouth of all our modern men of warre, that the Governour or Commaunder of a besieged place, ought never to sallie forth himselfe to parlie. In the time of our forefathers, the same was cast in the teeth, (as a reproach) unto the Lord of *Montmord* and *Assigni*, who defended *Mouson*, against the Earle of *Nanseaw*. Yet in this case it were excusable in him, that should so sallie out, that the assurance and advantage, might still be on his side. As did the Earle *Guido Rangoni* in the Citie of *Reggio* (if credit may be given to *Bellay*; for *Guicciardin* affirmeth, that it was himselfe) when as the Lord of *Escute*, comming to parlie made his approaches unto it; for he did so little forsake his fort, that whilst they were in parlie, a commotion being raised, the Lord of *Escute* and the troupes which came with him, in that tumult found himselfe to be the weakest, so that *Alexander Trivultio* was there slaine, and hee deeming it the safest way, was forced to follow the Earle, and on his word to yeeld himselfe to the mercie and shelter of blowes, into the Citie. *Eumenes* in the Citie of *Nera*, being urged by *Antigonus*, that besieged him, to sallie forth to parlie, alleaging that there was reason he should come to him, sith he was the better man, and the stronger: after he had made this noble answer, *I will never thinke any man better than my selfe, so long as I can hold*

*or rule my sword* ; nor did he ever yeeld untill *Antigonus* had delivered him *Ptolomey*, his owne nephew for a pledge, whom he required. Yet shall wee see some to have prospered well in sallying foorth of their holdes to parlie, upon the word and honor of the assailant ; witnes *Henrie of Vaulx*, a knight of *Champaigne*, who being beleagred by the English-men in the Castle of *Commercie*, and *Bartholmew of Bones*, who at that siege commaunded as Chiefe having caused the greatest part of the Castle to be undermined, so that there wanted nothing but the giving of fire, utterly to subvert the same, under the ruines of it, summoned the said *Henrie* to issue out, and for his owne good to parlie with him, which he did, accompanied but with three more, who manifestly seeing the evident ruine, wherein he was undoubtedly like to fall, acknowledged himselfe infinitely beholding to his enemy, unto whose discretion, after he had yeelded together with his troupe, and that fire was given to the Mine, the maine props of the Castle failing, it was utterly overthrowne and carried away. I am easily perswaded to yeeld to other mens words and faith, but hardly would I doe it, when I should give other men cause to imagine, that I had rather done it through despaire and want of courage, than of a free and voluntary choise, and confidence in his honestie and well-meaning.

Yet some  
 have  
 prospered  
 in so  
 doing

## CHAP. VI

That the houre of parlies is dangerous

Do not  
trust an  
armistice  
until  
signed

NOTWITHSTANDING I saw lately, that those of *Musidan*, a place not farre from mee, who with others of their partie, were by our forces compelled to dislodge thence, exclaimed, they were betraid, because during the speech of accord, and the treatie yet continuing, they had beene surprized and defeated; which thing might haply in other ages have had some apparence of truth; but, as I say, our manner of proceeding in such cases, is altogether differing from these rules, and no man ought to expect performance of promise from an enemie, except the last seale of bond be fully annexed thereunto, wherein notwithstanding is then much care and vigilancie required, and much adoe shall be found. And it was ever a dangerous counsell to trust the performance of word or oath given unto a Citie, that yeelds unto gentle and favourable composition, and in that furie to give the needie, bloudthirstie, and prey-greedy Souldier free entrance into it, unto the free choise and licence of a victorious armie. *Lucius Æmilius Regillus* a Romane Prætor, having lost his time in attempting by force to take the Citie of the *Phocens* by reason of the singular prowess, which the inhabitants shewed, in stoutly defending themselves, covenanted to receive them as friends unto the people of *Rome*, and to enter their

A saying  
of Cleo-  
menes

Citie as a place confederate, removing all feare of hostile-action from them. But to the end hee might appeare more glorious and dreadfull, having caused his armie to enter with him, doe what he might, he could not bridle the rage of his Souldiers; and with his owne eies saw most part of the Citie ransacked and spoiled: the rights of covetousnesse and revenge supplanting those of his authoritie and militarie discipline. (*Cleomenes* was wont to say, that *What hurt soever a man might doe his enemies in time of warre, was beyond justice, and not subject unto it, as well towards the Gods as towards men*: who for seven dayes having made truce with those of *Argos*, the third night, whilst they were all asleepe mistrusting no harme, hee charged and overthrew them, alleaging for his excuse, that in the truce no mention had beene made of nights.) But the Gods left not his perfidious policie unrevenged: For during their enter-parlie and businesse about taking hostages, the Citie of *Casilinum* was by surprise taken from him: which happened in the times of the justest Capitaines, and of the most perfect Romane discipline: For it is not said, that time and place serving, wee must not make use and take advantage of our enemies foolish oversight, as we doe of their cowardise. And verily warre hath naturally many reasonable privileges to the prejudice of reason. And here failes the rule; *Neminem id agere, ut ex alterius prædetur inscitia* (*Cic. Offic. iii.*): *That no man should endeavour to prey upon another mans ignorance.* But I wonder

Of broken parlies of the scope that *Xenophon* allowes them, both by his discourse, and by divers exploits of his perfect Emperour: an Author of wonderfull consequence in such things, as a great Captaine and a Philosopher, and one of *Socrates* chiefest Disciples, nor doe I altogether yeeld unto the measure of his dispensation. The Lord of *Aubigny* besieging *Capua*, after he had given it a furious batterie, the Lord *Fabritius Colonna*, Captaine of the towne, having from under a bastion or skonce begunne to parlie, and his men growing negligent and carelesse in their offices and guard, our men did suddenly take the advantage offered them, entered the towne, overranne it, and put all to the sword. But to come to later examples, yea in our memorie, the Lord *Julio Romero* at *T'voy*, having committed this oversight to issue out of his holde, to parlie with the Constable of *France*, at his returne found the Towne taken, and himselfe jack-out-of-doores. But that wee may not passe unrevenged, the Marques of *Pescara* beleaguering *Genova*, where Duke *Octavian Fregoso* commanded under our protection, and an accord between them having so long been treated, and earnestly solicited, that it was held as ratified, and upon the point of conclusion, the Spaniards being entred the Towne, and seeing themselves the stronger, tooke their opportunitie, and used it as a full and compleate victorie: and since at *Lygny* in *Barroe*, where the Earle of *Brienne* commanded, the Emperour having besieged him in person, and *Bartholemey* Lieutenant to the saide Earle being come forth

of his hold to parlie, was no sooner out, whilst they were disputing, but the 'Towne was surprised, and he excluded, They say,

A fair  
fight for  
the  
enemy

*Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa,  
Vincasi per fortuna ò per ingegno.*

—ARIST. cant. xv. stan. 1.

To be victorious, evermore was glorious,  
Be we by fortune or by wit victorious.

But the Philosopher *Chrysippus* would not have beene of that opinion; nor I neither, for he was wont to say, *That those who run for the masterie may well employ all their strength to make speed, but it is not lawfull for them to lay hands on their adversaries, to stay him, or to crosse leggs, to make him trip or fall.* And more generously answered *Alexander* the great, at what time *Polypercon* perswaded him to use the benefit of the advantage which the darknesse of the night afforded him, to charge *Darius*; *No, no*, said hee, *it fits not mee to hunt after night-stolne victories: Malo me fortunæ pæniteat, quàm victoriæ pudeat* (CURT. iv.). *I had rather repent me of my fortune, than be ashamed of my victorie.*

*Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodem  
Sternere, nec jacta cæcum dare cuspide vulnus:  
Obvius adversoque occurrit, seque viro vir  
Contulit, haud furto meliôr, sed fortibus armis.*

—VIRG. *Aen.* x. 732. Mezent.

He deign'd not to strike downe *Orodes* flying,  
Or with his throwne-launce blindely-wound him  
running:

But man to man afront himselfe applying,  
Met him, as more esteem'd for strength than cunning

## CHAP. VII

That our intention judgeth our actions

The letter  
but not  
the spirit

THE common saying is, that *Death acquits us of all our bonds*. I know some that have taken it in another sence. *Henry* the seventh, King of *England*, made a composition with *Philip* son to *Maximilian* the Emperour or (to give him a more honorable title) father to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, that the said *Philip* should deliver into his hands, the Duke of *Suffolke*, his mortall enemy, who was fled out of *England*, and saved him selfe in the Low countries, alwayes provided the King should attempt nothing against the Dukes life; which promise notwithstanding, being neere his end, he expresly by will and testament commanded his succeeding-sonne, that immediately after his decease, he should cause him to be put to death. In the late tragedie, which the Duke of *Alva* presented us withall at *Brussels*, on the Earles of *Horne* and *Egmond*, were many remarkable things, and worthy to be noted: and amongst others, that the said Count *Egmond* upon whose faithfull word and assurance, the Earle of *Horne* was come in and yeelded himselfe to the Duke of *Alva*, required very instantly to be first put to death, to the end his death might acquit and free him of the word and bond, which he ought and was engaged for, to the said Earle of *Horne*. It seemeth that death hath no whit discharged



the former of his word given, and that the second, without dying, was quit of it. We cannot be tied beyond our strength and meanes. The reason is, because the effects and executions are not any way in our power, and except our will, nothing is truly in our power: on it onely are all the rules of mans dutie grounded and established by necessitie. And therefore Count *Egmond*, deeming his minde and will indebted to his promise, howbeit the power to effect it, lay not in his hands, was no doubt cleerely absolved of his debt and dutie, although he had survived the Count *Horne*. But the King of *England* failing of his word by his intention, cannot be excused, though hee delaide the execution of his disloyaltie untill after his death. No more than *Herodotus* his Mason who during his naturall life, having faithfully kept the secret of his Master the King of *Egypt*s treasure, when he died discovered the same unto his children. I have in my dayes seene many convicted by their owne conscience, for detaining other mens goods, yet by their last will and testament to dispose themselves, after their decease to make satisfaction. This is nothing to the purpose. Neither to take time for a matter so urgent, nor with so small interest or shew of feeling, to goe about to establish an injurie. They are indebted somewhat more. And by how much more they pay incommodiously and chargeably, so much the more just and meritorious is their satisfaction. Penitence ought to charge, yet doe they worse, who reserve the revealing of

Only our  
will is  
our own

Leave some heinous conceit or affection towards their  
 not death neighbour, to their last will and affection, having  
 to reveal whilst they lived ever kept it secret. And  
 hidden seeme to have little regard of their owne honour,  
 sins by provoking the partie offended against their  
 owne memory, and lesse of their conscience,  
 since they could never for the respect of death  
 cancell their ill-grudging affection, and in ex-  
 tending life beyond theirs. Oh wicked and  
 ungodly judges, which referre the judgement  
 of a cause to such time as they have no more  
 knowledge of causes! I will as neere as I  
 can prevent, that my death reveale or utter any  
 thing, my life hath not first publikely spoken.

## CHAP. VIII

### Of Idlenesse

“AS we see some idle-fallow grounds, if they  
 be fat and fertile, to bring foorth store and  
 sundrie roots of wilde and unprofitable weeds,  
 and that to keepe them in ure we must subject  
 and imploy them with certaine seeds for our use  
 and service. And as wee see some women,  
 though single and alone, often to bring foorth  
 lumps of shapelesse flesh, whereas to produce  
 a perfect and naturall generation, they must be  
 manured with another kinde of seed: So is it of  
 mindes, which except they be busied about some  
 subject, that may bridle and keepe them under,

they will here and there wildely scatter themselves through the vaste field of imaginations.” To be every-where, is to be nowhere

*Sicut aquæ tremulum labris ubi lumen ahenis  
Sole repperctum, aut radiantis imagine Lunæ,  
Omnia pervolat latè loca, jamque sub auras  
Erigitur, summique ferit laquearia tecti.*

—VIRG. *Aen.* viii. 22.

As trembling light reflected from the Sunne,  
Or radiant Moone on water-fild brasse lavers,  
Flies over all, in aire upraised soone,  
Strikes house-top beames, betwixt both strangely  
wavers.

And there is no folly, or extravagant raving,  
they produce not in that agitation.

— *veluti ægri somnia, vanæ  
Finguntur species.*—HOR. *Art. Poet.* vii.

Like sicke mens dreames, that feigne  
Imaginations vaine.

The minde that hath no fixed bound, will  
easily loose it selfe : For, as we say, *To be everie  
where, is to be no where.*

*Quisquis ubique habitat, Maxime, nusquam habitat.*

—MART. vii. *Epig.* 72, 6.

Good sir, he that dwels every where,  
No where can say, that he dwels there.

It is not long since I retired my selfe unto  
mine owne house, with full purpose, as much  
as lay in me, not to trouble my selfe with any  
businesse, but solitarily and quietly to weare out  
the remainder of my well-nigh-spent life; where  
me thought I could doe my spirit no greater

Mon-  
taigne  
gives his  
spirit full  
scope

favour, than to give him the full scope of idleness, and entertaine him as he best pleased, and withall, to settle him-selfe as he best liked: which I hoped he might now, being by time become more settled and ripe, accomplish very easily: but I finde,

*Variam semper dant otia mentem.*—LUCAN, iv. 704.

Evermore idlenesse,  
Doth wavering mindes addresse,

That contrariwise playing the skittish and loose-broken jade, he takes a hundred times more carriere and libertie unto himselfe, than hee did for others; and begets in me so many extravagant *Ghimeraes*, and fantasticall monsters, so orderlesse, and without any reason, one hudling upon an other, that at leasure to view the foolishnesse and monstrous strangenesse of them, I have begun to keepe a register of them, hoping, if I live, one day to make him ashamed, and blush at himselfe.

## CHAP. IX

### Of Lyers

THERE is no man living, whom it may lesse beseeeme to speake of memorie, than my selfe, for to say truth, I have none at all: and am fully perswaded that no mans can be so weake and forgetfull as mine. All other parts are in

me common and vile, but touching memorie, I thinke to carrie the prise from all other, that have it weakest, nay and to gaine the reputation of it, besides the naturall want I endure (for truly considering the necessitie of it, *Plato* hath reason to name it *A great and mighty Goddess*). In my countrie, if a man will imply that one hath no sense, he will say, such a one hath no memorie: and when I complaine of mine, they reprove me, and will not beleieve me, as if I accused my selfe to be mad and senselesse. They make no difference betweene memorie and wit; which is an empairing of my market: But they doe me wrong, for contrariwise it is commonly seene by experience, that excellent memories do rather accompany weake judgements. Moreover they wrong me in this (who can do nothing so well as to be a perfect friend) that the same words which accuse my infirmitie, represent ingratitude. From my affection they take hold of my memorie, and of a naturall defect, they infer a want of judgement or conscience. Some will say, he hath forgotten this entreaty or request, or that promise, he is not mindfull of his old friends, he never remembred to say, or doe, or conceale this or that, for my sake. Verily I may easily forget, but to neglect the charge my friend hath committed to my trust, I never do it. Let them beare with my infirmitie, and not conclude it to be a kind of malice; which is so contrarie an enemy to my humor. Yet am I somewhat comforted. First, because it is an evill, from which I have chieflie

Montaigne  
complains  
of his  
memory

A bad memory has some advantages drawne the reason to correct a worse mischiefe, that would easily have growen upon me, that is to say, ambition; which defect is intolerable in them that meddle with worldly negotiations. For as divers like examples of natures progresse, say, she hath happily strengthned other faculties in me, according as it hath growne weaker and weaker in me, and I should easily lay downe and wire-draw my minde and judgement, upon other mens traces, without exercising their proper forces, if by the benefit of memorie, forren inventions and strange opinions were present with me. That my speech is thereby shorter: For the Magazin of Memorie is peradventure more stored with matter, than is the store-house of Invention. Had it held out with me, I had ere this wearied all my friends with prating: the subjects rouzing the meane facultie I have to manage and imploy them, strengthening and wresting my discourses. It is pitie; I have assayed by the trial of some of my private friends: according as their memory hath ministred them a whole and perfect matter, who recoile their narration so farre-backe, and stuff-it with so many vaine circumstances, that if the story bee good, they smother the goodnesse of it: if bad, you must needs either curse the good fortune of their memorie, or blame the misfortune of their judgement. And it is no easie matter, being in the midst of the carriere of a discourse, to stop cunningly, to make a sudden period, and to cut it off. And there is nothing whereby the cleane strength of a horse is more knowne, than to make

a readie and cleane stop. Among the skilfull I see some, that strive, but cannot stay their race. Whilest they labour to finde the point to stop their course, they stagger and falter, as men that faint through weaknesse. Above all, old men are dangerous, who have onely the memorie of things past left them, and have lost the remembrance of their repetitions. I have heard some very pleasant reports become most irkesome and tedious in the mouth of a certaine Lord, forso-much as all the by-standers had many times beene cloyed with them. Secondly, (as said an ancient Writer) that, *I doe not so much remember injuries received*. I had need have a prompter as *Darius* had, who not to forget the wrong he had received of the Athenians, whensoever he sate downe at his table, caused a page to sing unto him, *Sir, remember the Athenians*, and that the places or bookes which I read-over, do ever smile upon me, with some new noveltie. It is not without reason, men say, that *he who hath not a good and readie memorie, should never meddle with telling of lies, and feare to become a liar*. I am not ignorant how the Grammarians make a difference betweene speaking untrue and lying; and say that to speake untruly, is to speake that which is false, but was reputed true; and that the definition of the Latin word, *mentiri*, whence the French word, *mentir*, is derived, which in English is to lie, implieth and meaneth to goe against ones conscience: and by consequence it concerneth onely those, who speake contrary to that which they know, of whom I speake.

Forgetful  
of injuries  
received

Contra- Now, these, either invent, seale, stampe and all,  
dictions or else they disguise and change a true ground.  
of liars When they disguise or change, if they be often  
put to the repetition of one thing, it is hard for  
them to keepe still in one path, and very strange  
if they lose not themselves: because the thing,  
as it is, having first taken up her stand in the  
memory, and there by the way of knowledge  
and witting, imprinted it-selfe, it were hard it  
should not represent it selfe to the imagina-  
tion, displacing and supplanting falshood, which  
therein can have no such footing, or setled fast-  
nesse: and that the circumstances of the first  
learning, still diving into the minde, should not  
cause it to disperse the remembrance of all false  
or bastardizing parts gotten together. Where  
they altogether invent, forsomuch as there is no  
[contrarie] impression, to front their falshood,  
they seeme to have so much the lesser feare to  
mistake or forget themselves, which also not-  
withstanding being an airie bodie, and without  
hold-fast, may easily escape the memorie, except  
it be well assured: whereof I have often (to  
my no small pleasure) seene the experience, at  
the cost of those, who professe never to frame  
their speech, but as best shall fit the affaires they  
negotiate, and as best shall please the great men  
they speake unto. For the circumstances to  
which they will subject their credit and con-  
science, being subject to many changes, their  
speech must likewise diversifie and change with  
them, whence it followeth that of one selfe-same  
subject they speak diversly, as now yellow, now



gray, to one man thus, and thus to another. And if peradventure these kind of men hoard-up their so contrarie instructions, what becomes of this goodly art? Who besides, often most foolishly forget themselves, and run at random: For, what memorie shall suffice them, to remember so many different formes they have framed to one same subject? I have in my dayes seene divers that have envied the reputation of this worthy kind of wisdom, who perceive not, that if there be a reputation, there can be no effect. "Verily, lying is an ill and detestable vice. Nothing makes us men, and no other meanes keeps us bound one to another, but our word; knew we but the horror and waight of it, we would with fire and sword pursue and hate the same, and more justly than any other crime." I see all men generally busied (and that verie improperly) to punish certaine innocent errours in children, which have neither impression nor consequence, and chastice and vex them for rash and fond actions. Onely lying, and stubbornnesse somewhat more, are the faults whose birth and progresse I would have severely punished and cut off; for they grow and increase with them: and if the tongue have once gotten this ill habit, good Lord how hard, nay how impossible it is to make her leave it? whereby it ensueth, that we see many very honest men in other matters, to bee subject and enthralled to that fault. I have a good lad to my tailour, whom I never heard speak a truth; no not when it might stand him in stead of profit. If a lie had no more faces but one, as

Lying  
should be  
punished  
in youth

Only one  
course  
hits the  
centre

truth hath, we should be in farre better termes than we are: For, whatsoever a lier should say, we would take it in a contrarie sense. But the opposite of truth hath many-many shapes, and an undefinite field. The Pythagoreans make good to be certaine and finite, and evill to bee infinite and uncertaine. A thousand by-ways misse the marke, one onely hits the same. Surely I can never assure my selfe to come to a good end, to warrant an extreme and evident danger, by a shamelesse and solemne lie.

An ancient Father saith, *We are better in the companie of a knowne dogge, than in a mans societie, whose speech is unknowne to us. Ut externus alieno non sit hominis vice* (PLIN. Nat. Hist. vii. 1). *A stranger to a stranger is not like a man.* And how much is a false speech lesse sociable than silence? King *Francis* the first, vaunted himselfe to have by this meanes brought *Francis Taverna*, Ambassador to *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Millane*, to a non-plus; a man very famous for his rare eloquence, and facilitie in speech, who had beene dispatched to excuse his master, toward his Majestie, of a matter of great importance, which was this. The King to keepe ever some intelligence in *Italy*, whence he had lately beene expelled, but especially in the Dukedome of *Millane*, thought it expedient to entertaine a Gentleman of his about the Duke, in effect as his Ambassador, but in apparance as a private man; who should make shew to reside there about his particular affaires, forsomuch as the Duke, who depended much more of the

Emperour (chiefely then that he was treating a mariage with his niece, daughter of the King of *Denmarke*, who is at this day Dowager of *Lorraine*) could not without great prejudice unto himselfe discover to have any correspondencie and conference with us. For which commission and purpose a Gentleman of *Millane*, named *Merveille*, then serving the King in place of one of the Quiers of his Querie, was deemed fit. This man being dispatched with secret letters of credence, and instructions of an Ambassador, together with other letters of commendation to the Duke in favour of his particular affaires, as a maske and pretence of his proceedings, continued so long about the Duke, that the Emperour began to have some suspition of him; which as we suppose was cause of what ensued, which was, that under colour of a murther committed, the Duke one night caused the said *Merveille* to be beheaded, having ended his processe in two dayes. Master *Francis* being come to the Court, fraught with a long counterfet deduction of this storie (for the King had addressed himselfe to all the Princes of Christendome, yea and to the Duke himselfe for justice, for such an outrage committed upon his servant) had one morning audience in the Kings councill-chamber: who for the foundation of his cause having established and to that end projected many goodly and colourable apparences of the fact: namely, that the Duke his Master had never taken *Merveille* for other than a private gentleman, and his owne subject, and who was come thither about his

The execution of  
Merveille

The Am-  
bassador  
of Pope  
Julius

private busines, where he had never lived under other name, protesting he had never knowne him to be one of the Kings houshold, nor never heard of him, much lesse taken him for his Majesties Agent. But the King urging him with divers objections and demands, and charging him on every side, prest him so farre with the execution done by night, and as it were by stealth, that the seely man, being much entangled and suddenly surprised, as if he would set an innocent face on the matter, answered, that for the love and respect of his Majestie, the Duke his Master would have beene very loth that such an execution should have beene done by day. Heere every man may guesse whether he were taken short or no, having tripped before so goodly a nose, as was that of our King *Francis* the first. Pope *Julius* the second, having sent an Ambassador to the King of *England* to animate him against our foresaid King: the Ambassador having had audience touching his charge, and the King in his answer urging and insisting upon the difficultie he found and foresaw in levying such convenient forces, as should be required to withstand so mightie, and set upon so puissant a King, and alleaging certaine pertinent reasons: The Ambassador fondly and unfitly replied, that himselfe had long before maturely considered them, and had told the Pope of them. By which answer so farre from his proposition (which was with all speed, and without more circumstances to undertake and undergoe a dangerous warre) the King

of *England* tooke hold of the first argument which in effect he afterward found true, which was, that the said Ambassador, in his owne particular intent, was more affected to the French side, whereof advertising his Master, his goods were all confiscate, himselfe disgraced, and he very hardly escaped with life.

Different  
kinds of  
eloquence

## CHAP. X

### Of readie or slow speech

*On ne furent à tous toutes graces donnees.*

*All Gods good graces are not gone*

*To all, or of all any one.*

SO doe we see that in the gift of eloquence, some have such a facility and promptitude, and that which we call utterance, so easie and at command, that at all assaies, and upon everie occasion, they are ready and provided; and others more slow, never speake any thing except much laboured and premeditated. As Ladies and daintie Dames are taught rules to take recreations and bodily exercises, according to the advantage of what they have fairest about them. If I were to give the like counsel, in those two different advantages of eloquence wherof Preachers and pleading-lawiers of our age seeme to make profession; the slow speaker in mine opinion should be the better preacher, and the other the better lawier. Forsomuch as charge

The  
 "contre-  
 temps" of  
 Monsieur  
 Poyet

of the first allowes him as much leisure as he pleaseth to prepare himselfe; moreover his carriere continueth still in one kinde without interruption: whereas the Lawyers occasions urging him still upon any accident to be ready to enter the lists: and the unexpected replies and answers of his adverse partie, do often divert him from his purpose, wher he is enforced to take a new course. Yet is it, that at the last enterview which was at *Marseilles* betweene Pope *Clement* the seventh, and *Francis* the first, our King, it hapned cleane contrarie, where Monsieur *Poyet*, a man of chiefe reputation, and all dayes of his life brought up to plead at the bar, whose charge being to make an Oration before the Pope, and having long time before premeditated and con'd the same by roat, yea, and as some report, brought it with him ready penned from *Paris*; the very same day it should have beene pronounced; the Pope suspecting he might haply speake something, might offend the other Princes Ambassadors, that were about him, sent the argument, which he at that time & place thought fittest to be treated of, to the King, but by fortune cleane contrarie to that which *Poyet*, had so much studied for: So that his Oration was altogether frustrate, and he must presently frame another. But he perceiving himselfe unable for it, the Cardinall *Bellay* was faine to supply his place and take that charge upon him. The Lawyers charge is much harder than the Preachers: (yet in mine opinion) shall we find more passable Lawyers than commendable

Preachers, at least in *France*. It seemeth to be more proper to the mind, to have her operation ready and sudden, and more incident to the judgement, to have it slow and considerate. But who remaineth mute, if he have no leisure to prepare himselfe, and he likewise to whom leisure giveth no advantage to say better, are both in one selfe degree of strangenesse. It is reported that *Severus Cassius* spake better extempore, and without premeditation. That he was more beholding to fortune, than to his diligence; that to be interrupted in his speech redounded to his profit: and that his adversaries feared to urge him, lest his sudden anger should redouble his eloquence. I know this condition of nature by experience, which cannot abide a vehement and laborious premeditation: except it hold a free, a voluntarie, and selfe pleasing course, it can never come to a good end. We commonly say of some compositions, that they smell of the oile, and of the lampe, by reason of a certaine harshnesse, and rudenesse, which long plodding labour imprints in them that be much elaborated. But besides the care of well-doing, and the contention of the minde, overstretched to her enterprise, doth breake and impeach the same; even as it hapneth unto water, which being closely pent in, through it's owne violence and abundance, can not finde issue at an open gullet. In this condition of nature, whereof I now speake, this also is joyned unto it, that it desireth not to be pricked forward by these strong passions, as the anger of *Cassius* (for that motion would be over-rude) it

Some  
orations  
smell of  
the lamp

Mon- ought not to be violently shaken, but yeeldingly  
taigne's solicited: it desireth to be rouzed and prickt  
words forward by strange occasions, both present and  
better casuall. If it goe all alone, it doth but languish  
than his and loyter behinde: agitation is her life and  
writings grace. I cannot well containe my selfe in mine  
own possession and disposition, chance hath more  
interest in it than my selfe; occasion, company,  
yea the change of my voice, drawes more from  
my minde than I can finde therein, when by my  
selfe I [sound] and endeavor to employ the same.  
My words likewise are better than my writings,  
if choice may be had in so worthlesse things.  
This also hapneth unto me, that where I seeke  
my selfe, I finde not my selfe: and I finde my  
selfe more by chance, than by the search of mine  
owne judgement. I shall perhaps have cast foorth  
some suttletie in writing, haply dull and harsh  
for another, but smooth and curious for my selfe.  
Let us leave all these complements and quaint-  
nesse. That is spoken by everie man, according  
to his owne strength. I have so lost it, that I  
wot not what I would have said, and strangers  
have sometimes found it before me. Had I  
alwayes a razor about me, where that hapneth, I  
should cleane raze my selfe out. Fortune may  
at some other time make the light thereof appeare  
brighter unto me, than that of mid-day, and will  
make mee wonder at mine owne faltring or stick-  
ing in the myre.



## CHAP. XI

## Of Prognostications

AS touching Oracles it is very certaine, that long before the comming of our Saviour Decline  
of Oracles  
*Jesus Christ*, they had begun to lose their credit: for we see that *Cicero* laboureth to finde the cause of their declination: and these be his words: *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur non modo nostra atate, sed jamdiu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius?* (*Cic. Divin. ii.*). *Why in like sort are not Oracles now uttered, not onely in our times, but a good while since, so as now nothing can be more contemptible?* But as for other Prognostikes, that were drawne from the anatomie of beasts in sacrifice, to which *Plato* doth in some sort ascribe the naturall constitution of the internall members of them, of the scraping of chickins, of the flight of birds, *Aves quasdam rerum augurandarum causa natas esse putamus* (*Id. Nat. Deor.*). *We are of opinion, certain birds were even bred to prognosticate some things; of thunders, of turnings and backe-recourse of rivers. Multa cernunt aruspices: multa augures provident: multa oraculis declarantur: multa vaticinationibus: multa somniis: multa portentis* (*Id. Ib. ii.*). *Soothsayers see much: bird-prophets foresee as much: much is foretold by Oracles; much by prophecies; much by portentuous signes, and others, upon which antiquitie grounded most of their enterprises, as well publike as private: our religion hath abolished*

Not them. And albeit there remaine yet amongst  
 profitable us some meanes of divination in the starres, in  
 to know spirits, in shapes of the body, in dreames, and  
 future elsewhere a notable example of the mad and fond  
 things curiositie of our nature, ammusung it selfe to pre-  
 occupate future things, as if it had not enough to  
 doe to digest the present.

—*cur hanc tibi rector Olympi*

*Sollicitis visum mortalibus addere curam,*

*Noscant venturas ut dira per omnia clades?*

*Sit subitum quodcunque paras, sit cæca futuri*

*Mens hominum fati, liceat sperare timenti.*—LUCAN, ii. 4,

Why pleas'd it thee, thou ruler of the spheares,  
 To adde this care to mortals care-clog'd minde,  
 That they their miserie know, ere it appeares?  
 Let thy drifts sudden come; let men be blinde  
 T'wards future fate: oh let him hope that feares.

*Ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit:*  
*Miserum est enim nihil proficientem angere* (Cic. Nat.  
 Deor. iii.). *It is not so much as profitable for us,*  
*to know what is to come, for it is a miserable thing,*  
*a man should fret and be vexed, and do no good.*  
 Yet is it of much lesse authoritie, loe here  
 wherefore the example of *Francis Marquis of*  
*Saluzzo*, hath seemed remarkable unto me: who  
 being Lieutenant General unto *Francis* our King,  
 and over all his forces, which he then had be-  
 yond the Mountaines in *Italie*, a man highly  
 favoured in al our court, and otherwise infinitely  
 beholding to the King for that very Marquisate,  
 which his brother had forfeited: and having no  
 occasion to doe it, yea and his minde and affec-  
 tions contradicting the same, suffered himselfe to  
 be frighted and deluded (as it hath since been

manifestly proved) by the fond prognostications, which then throughout all *Europe* were given out to the advantage of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, and to our prejudice and disadvantage (but specially in *Italy*, where these foolish prædictions had so much possessed the Italians, that in *Rome* were laid great wagers, and much money given out upon the exchange, that we should utterly be overthrowne) that after he had much condoled, yea and complained with his secret friends, the unavoidable miseries which he foresaw prepared by the fates against the Crowne of *France*, and the many friends he had there, he unkindly revolted, and became a turne-cote on the Emperors side, to his intolerable losse and destruction, notwithstanding all the constellations then reigning. But was drawne unto it as a man encompassed and beset by divers passions; for having both strong castles, and all maner of munition and strength in his owne hands, the enemies armie under *Antonio Leva* about three paces from him, and we nothing mistrusting him, it was in his power to do worse than he did. For notwithstanding his treason, we lost neither man nor towne, except *Fossan*, which long after was by us stoutly contested and defended.

Delusion  
of the  
Marquis  
Saluzzo

*Prudens futuri temporis exitum  
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus,  
Ridétque, si mortalis ultra  
Fas trepidat.*—HOR. iii. *Od.* xxix. 29.

Our wise God hides in pitch-darke night  
Of future time th' event decreed,  
And laughes at man, if man (affright)  
Feare more than he to feare hath need.

Divina-  
tion of the  
Tuscans

*Ille potens sui  
Lætusque deget, cui licet in diem  
Dixisse, vixi, cras vel atrâ  
Nube polum pater occupato,  
Vel sole puro.*—41.

He of himselfe lives merily,  
Who each day, I have liv'd, can say,  
Tomorow let God charge the skie  
With darke clouds, or faire sun-shine-ray.

*Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est,  
Oderit curare.*—*Ib.* ii. *Od.* xvi. 25.

For present time a mery mind  
Hates to respect what is behind.

And those which take this word in a contrary sense are in the wrong. *Ista sic reciprocantur, ut et si divinatio sit, dii sint, et si dii sint, sit divinatio* (*Cic. Div.* i. p.). *This consequence is so reciprocall, as if there be any divination, there are Gods: and if there be Gods, there is divination.* Much more wisely *Pacuvius*.

*Nam istis qui linguam avium intelligunt,  
Plusque ex alieno jecore sapiunt, quàm ex suo,  
Magis audtendum, quàm auscultandum censeo.*—*Ib.* f. *Pas.*

Who understand what language birds expresse,  
By their owne, than beasts-livers knowing lesse,  
They may be heard, not hearkned to, I guesse.

This so famous art of divination of the Tuscans grew thus. A husband-man digging very deepe into the ground, with his plough-share, saw *Tages*, a demy-God appeare out of it, with an infantine face, yet fraught with an aged-like wisdom. All men ran to see him, and both his words and knowledge were for many ages

after remembred, and collected, containing the principles and meanes of this art. An of-spring sutable to her progresse. I would rather direct affaires by the chance of dice, than by such frivolous dreames. And truly in all common-wealths, men have ever ascribed much authoritie unto lot. *Plato* in the policie which he imagineth by discretion, ascribeth the deciding of many important effects unto it, and amongst other things would have marriages betweene the good to bee contrived by lot. And giveth so large privileges unto this casuall election, that he appoints the children proceeding from them to bee brought up in the countrie; and those borne of the bad to be banished and sent abroad. Notwithstanding if any of those so exiled shall by fortune happen, whilst he is growing, to show some good hope of him-selfe, that he may be revoked and sent-for backe, and such amongst the first as shall in their youth give small hope of future good to be banished. I see some that studie, plod, and glosse their Almanackes, and in all accidents alleage their authoritie. A man were as good to say, they must needs speake truth and lies. *Quis est enim qui totum diem jaculans, non aliquando conlineet?* (*Cic. Div. ii.*). For who is he that shooting all day, sometimes hits not the white? I thinke not the better of them, though what they say proove sometimes true. It were more certaine, if there were either a rule or a truth to lie ever. Seeing no man recordeth their fables, because they are ordinarie and infinit; and their predictions are

Decision  
by lot or  
dice

Offerings made to be of credit, because they are rare,  
of incredible and prodigious. So answered *Dia-*  
escaped goras surnamed the Atheist (being in *Samo-*  
sailors thrace) to him, who in shewing him divers  
vowes and offrings hanging in the Temple,  
brought thither by such as had escaped ship-  
wracke, said thus unto him: *You that thinke the*  
*Gods to have no care of humane things, what say*  
*you by so many men saved by their grace and*  
*helpe? Thus is it done,* answered he: *Those*  
*which were drowned farre exceeding their number,*  
*are not here set-forth.* Cicero saith, *That amongst*  
*all other Philosophers that have avowed and ac-*  
*knowledgeed the Gods, onely Xenophanes the Colo-*  
*phonian hath gone about to root out all maner of*  
*divination.* It is so much the lesse to be won-  
dred at, if at any time we have seene some of  
our Princes mindes to their great damage, relie  
upon such like vanities. I would to God, I  
had with mine owne eyes seene those two won-  
ders, mentioned in the booke of *Joachin* the  
Abbat of *Calabria*, who foretold all the Popes  
that should ensue, together with their names and  
shapes: And that of *Leo* the Emperour, who  
fore-spake all the Emperours and Patriarkes of  
*Greece.* This have I seene with mine owne  
eyes, that in publike confusions, men amazed at  
their owne fortune, give themselves head-long,  
as it were to all maner of superstition, to search  
in heaven the causes and ancient threats of their  
ill-lucke; and in my time are so strangely suc-  
cessefull therein, as they have perswaded me,  
that it is an ammusng of sharpe and idle wits,

that such as are inured to this subtletie, by folding and unfolding them, may in all other writings be capable to finde out what they seeke-after. But above all, their dark, ambiguous, fantastical, and prophetical gibrish, mends the matter much, to which their authors never give a plaine sense, that posterity may apply what meaning and construction it shall please unto it. The *Dæmon of Socrates* was peradventure a certaine impulsion [of] will, which without the advice of his discourse presented it selfe unto him. In a minde so well purified, and by continuall exercise of wisdom and vertue so well prepared, as his was, it is likely, his inclinations (though rash and inconsiderate) were ever of great moment, and worthie to be followed. Every man feeleth in himselfe some image of such agitations, of a prompt, vehement and casual opinion. It is in me to give them some authoritie, that afford so little to our wisdom. And I have had some, equally weake in reason, and violent in perswasion and dissuasion (which was more ordinarie to *Socrates*) by which I have so happily and so profitably suffered my selfe to be transported, as they might perhaps be thought to containe some matter of divine inspiration.

The Dæ-  
mon of  
Socrates

## CHAP. XII

## Of Constancie

Defini-  
tions of  
fortitude

THE law of resolution and constancie implieth not, we should not, as much as lieth in our power shelter our selves from the mischiefes and inconveniences that threaten us, nor by consequence feare, they should surprise us. Contrariwise, all honest meanes for a man to warrant himselfe from evils are not onely tolerable, but commendable. And the part of constancie is chiefly acted, in firmly bearing the inconveniences, against which no remedie is to be found. So that, there is no nimblenesse of bodie, nor wealding of hand-weapons, that we will reject, if it may in any sort defend us from the blow, meant at us. Many most warlike nations in their conflicts and fights, used retreating and flight as a principall advantage, and shewed their backs to their enemie much more dangerously than their faces. The Turkes at this day retaine something of that humour. And *Socrates* in *Plato* doth mocke at *Laches*, because he had defined fortitude, to keepe herselfe steadie in her rancke against her enemies; *What*, saith hee, *were it then cowardise to beat them in giving them place?* And alleageth *Homer* against him, who commendeth in *Æneas* his skill in flying and giving ground. And because *Laches* being better advised, avoweth that



custome to be amongst the Scithians, and generally amongst all horsemen, he alleageth further unto him the example of the Lacedemonian footmen (a nation above all other used to fight on foot) who in the battell of *Platea*, unable to open and to put to rowt the Persian Phalanx, advised themselves to scatter and put themselves backe, that so by the opinion of their flight, they might if they should pursue them, rush in upon them, and put that so combined-masse to rout. By which meanes they gained the victorie. Touching the Scithians, it is reported, that when *Darius* went to subdue them, he sent their King many reprochfull speeches, for so much as hee ever saw him retire and give ground before him, and to avoid the maine battell. To whom *Indathirsez* (for so was his name) answered, that, *They did it not for feare of him, nor any other man living, but that it was the fashion of his nation to march thus : as having neither cities, nor houses, nor manured land to defend, or to feare their enemies should reape any commoditie by them.* But if hee had so great a desire to feed on them, he might draw neerer to view the place of their ancient Sepulchers, and there hee should meet with whom to speake his belly-full. Notwithstanding when a man is once within reach of cannon-shot, and as it were point-blanke before them, as the fortune of warre doth diverse times bring men unto, it ill beseemeth a resolute minde to start-aside, or be daunted at the threat of a shot, because by the violence and suddennesse thereof wee deeme it inevitable : and there are

Feigned  
flights  
leading  
to victory

**Playing  
the duck** some, who by lifting up of a hand, or stooping their head, have sometimes given their fellows cause of laughter : yet have we seene, that in the voyage, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth made against us in *Provence*, the Marquis of *Guasto*, being gone out to survey the citie of *Arles*, and shewne himselfe out of a winde-mill, under colour of which he was come somewhat neere the Towne, he was discovered by the Lord of *Bonevall*, and the Seneshall of *Agenois*, who were walking upon the Theatre *Aux arenes* (so called in French because it is full of sand) who shewing him to the Lord of *Villiers*, Commissarie of the Artillerie. hee mounted a culverin so levell, that had not the Marquis perceived the fire, and so started aside, it was constantly affirmed, hee had beene shot through the body. Likewise not many yeeres before, *Lorence* of *Medicis*, Duke of *Urbis*, and father to the Queene-mother of *France*, besieging *Mondolphe*, a place in *Italie*, in the province name *Vicariate*, seeing fire given to a piece that stood upright upon him, stooped his head, and well befell him that he plaide the ducke, for otherwise the bullet, which went right over, and within a little of his head, had doubtlesse shot him through the paunch. But to say truth, I will never thinke these motions were made with discourse, for what judgement can you give of an aime, either high or low in a matter so sudden? It may rather be thought that fortune favoured their feare: and which an other time might as well bee a meane to make them fall into the cannons-mouth, as to avoid

the same. I cannot chuse, if the cracke of a musket doe suddenly streeke mine eares, in a place where I least looke for it, but I must needs start at-it: which I have seene happen to men of better sort than my selfe. Nor doe the Stoickes meane, that the Soule of their wisest man in any sort resist the first visions and sudden fantasies, that surprise the same: but rather consent that, as it were unto a naturall subjection, he yeelds and shrinks unto the loud clattering and roare of heaven, or of some violent downfall; for example-sake, unto palenesse, and contraction. So likewise in other passions, alwayes provided, his opinion remaines safe and whole, and the situation of his reason, admit no tainting or alteration whatsoever: and hee no whit consent to his fright and sufferance. Touching the first part; the same hapneth to him, that is not wise, but farre otherwise concerning the second. For the impression of passions doth not remaine superficial in him: but rather penetrates even into the secret of reason, infecting and corrupting the same. He judgeth according to them, and conformeth himselfe to them. Consider precisely the state of the wise Stoicke:

*Mens immota manet, lachrymæ volvuntur inanes.*

—VIRG. *Aen.* iv. 449.

His minde doth firme remaine,  
Teares are distill'd in vaine.

The wise Peripatetike doth not exempt himselfe from perturbations of the mind, but doth moderate them.

The  
Stoicks  
and  
sudden  
fright

## CHAP. XIII

## Of Ceremonies in the interview of Kings

Abolish  
vain cere-  
monies at  
home

THERE is no subject so vaine, that deserveth not a place in this rapsodie. It were a notable discourtesie unto our common rules, both towards an equall, but more toward a great person, not to meete with you in your house, if he have once warned you that he will come : And *Margaret Queene of Navarre*, was wont to say to this purpose, *That it was a kinde of incivilitie in a gentleman, to depart from his house, as the fashion is, to meet with him that is comming to him, how worthy soever he be : and that it more agreeth with civilitie and respect, to stay for him at home, and there to entertaine him : except it were for feare the stranger should misse his way : and that it sufficeth to companie and wait upon him, when he is going away againe.* As for me, I oftentimes forget both these vaine offices ; as one that endevoureth to abolish all maner of ceremonies in my house. Some will be offended at it, what can I doe withall ? I had rather offend a stranger once, then myselfe everie day ; for it were a continuall subjection. To what end doe men avoid the servitude of Courts, and entertaine the same in their owne houses ? Moreover it is a common rule in all assemblies, that hee who is the meaner man, commeth first to the place appointed, forsomuch as it belongs to the better

man to be staid-for, and waited upon by the other. Nevertheless we saw that at the interview, prepared at *Merceilles* betweene Pope *Clement* the seventh, and *Francis* the first, King of *France*, the King having appointed all necessarie preparations, went him-selfe out of the Towne, and gave the Pope two or three dayes leasure, to make his entrie into it, and to refresh himselfe, before he would come to meet him there. Likewise at the meeting of the said Pope with the Emperour at *Bologna*, the Emperour gave the Pope advantage and leasure to be first there, and afterward came himselfe. It is (say they) an ordinarie ceremonie at enterparlies betweene such Princes, that the better man should ever come first to the place appointed; yea before him in whose countrey the assembly is: and they take it in this sence, that it is, because this complement should testifie, he is the better man, whom the meaner goeth to seeke, and that hee sueth unto him. Not onely each countrey, but every Citie, yea and every vocation hath his owne particular decorum. I have very carefully beene brought up in mine infancie, and have lived in verie good company, because I would not bee ignorant of the good maners of our countrey of *France*, and I am perswaded I might keepe a schoole of them. I love to follow them, but not so cowardly, as my life remaine thereby in subjection. They have some painfull formes in them, which if a man forget by discretion, and not by error, hee shall no whit bee disgraced. I have often seene men proove unmanerly by too much

The good  
manners  
of France

**Even** maners, and importunate by over-much curtesie.  
**valour** The knowledge of entertainment is otherwise a  
**hath its** profitable knowledge. It is, as grace and beautie  
**limits** are, the reconciler of the first accoastings of  
 society and familiarity: and by consequence, it  
 openeth the entrance to instruct us by the  
 example of others, and to exploit and produce  
 our example, if it have any instructing or com-  
 municable thing in it.

## CHAP. XIV

**Men are punished by too-much opiniating them-  
 selves in a place without reason**

**V**ALOUR hath his limits, as other vertues  
 have: which if a man out-go, hee shall  
 find himselfe in the traine of vice: in such sort,  
 that unlesse a man know their right bounds,  
 which in truth are not on a sudden, easily hit  
 upon, he may fall into rashnesse, obstinacie, and  
 folly. For this consideration grew the custome  
 wee hold in warres, to punish, and that with  
 death, those who wilfully opinate themselves  
 to defend a place, which by the rules of warre,  
 cannot be kept. Otherwise upon hope of im-  
 punitie, there should bee no cottage, that might  
 not entertaine an Armie. The Lord Constable  
*Momorancie* at the siege of *Pavia*, having beene  
 appointed to passe over the river *Tesine*, and to  
 quarter himselfe in the suburbs of Saint *Antonie*,

being impeached by a tower, that stood at the end of the bridge, and which obstinately would needs hold out, yea and to be battered, caused all those that were with-in it, to be hanged. The same man afterward, accompanying my Lord the *Dolphin* of *France* in his journey beyond the *Alpes*, having by force taken the Castle of *Villane*, and all those that were within the same, having by the furie of the Souldiers bin put to the sword, except the Captaine, and his Ancient, for the same reason, caused them both to be hanged and strangled: As did also, Captaine *Martin du Bellay*, the Governour of *Turin*, in the same countrey, the Captaine of Saint *Bony*: all the rest of his men having beene massacred at the taking of the place. But for somuch as the judgement of the strength or weakenesse of the place, is taken by the estimate and counterpoise of the forces that assaile it (for som man might justly opinionate himselfe against two culverins, that wold play the mad-man to expect thirtie cannons) where also the greatnesse of the Prince conquering must be considered, his reputation, and the respect that is due unto him: there is danger a man should somewhat bend the ballance on that side. By which termes it hapneth, that some have so great an opinion of themselves, and their meanes, and deeming it unreasonable, any thing should be worthie to make head against them, that so long as their fortune continueth, they overpasse what hill or difficultie soever they finde to withstand or resist them: As is seene by the formes

Punish-  
ment of  
obstinate  
resist-  
ance

**Faults of weakness and of malice** of summonings and challenges, that the Princes of the East, and their successors yet remaining have in use, so fierce, so haughtie, and so full of a barbarous kinde of commandement. And in those places where the Portugales abated the pride of the Indians, they found some states observing this universall and inviolable law, that what enemie soever he be, that is overcome by the King in person, or by his Lieutenant, is exempted from all composition of ransome or mercie. So above all, a man who is able should take heed, lest he fall into the hands of an enemie-judge, that is victorious and armed.

## CHAP. XV

### Of the punishment of cowardise

**I** HAVE heretofore heard a Prince, who was a very great Captaine, hold opinion, that a souldier might not for cowardise of heart be condemned to death: who sitting at his table heard report of the Lord of *Vervins* sentence, who for yeelding up of *Bollein*, was doomed to lose his head. Verily there is reason a man should make a difference between faults proceeding from our weaknesse, and those that grow from our malice. For in the latter we are directly bandied against the rules of reason, which nature hath imprinted in us; and in the former it seemeth, we may call the same nature, as a warrant, because it



hath left us in such imperfection and defect. So as divers nations have judged, that no man should blame us for any thing we doe against our conscience. And the opinion of those which condemne heretikes and miscreants unto capitall punishments, is partly grounded upon this rule: and the same which establisheth, that a Judge or an advocate may not bee called to account for any matter committed in their charge through oversight or ignorance. But touching cowardise, it is certain, the common fashion is, to punish the same with ignominie and shame. And some hold that this rule was first put in practice by the Law-giver *Charondas*, and that before him the lawes of *Greece* were wont to punish those with death, who for feare did run away from a Battell: where hee onely ordained, that for three dayes together, clad in womens attire, they should be made to sit in the market-place: hoping yet to have some service at their hands, and by meanes of this reproch, they might recover their courage againe. *Suffundere malis hominis sanguinem quám effundere: Rather move a mans bloud to blush in his face, than remove it by bleeding from his body.*

Punish-  
ment of  
cowards  
in Greece

It appeareth also that the Roman lawes did in former times punish such as had run away, by death. For *Ammianus Marcellinus* reporteth, that *Julian* the Emperour condemned ten of his Souldiers, who in a charge against the *Parthians*, had but turned their backs from it; first to be degraded, and then to suffer death, as he saith, according to the ancient lawes, who neverthe-

And in Rome and France lesse, condemne others for a like fault, under the ensigne of bag and baggage, to be kept amongst the common prisoners. The sharp punishment of the Romans against those Souldiers that escaped from *Cannæ*: and in the same warre against those that accompanied *Cn. Fulvius* in his defeat, reached not unto death, yet may a man feare, such open shame may make them despaire, and not only prove faint and cold friends, but cruell and sharpe enemies. In the time of our forefathers, the Lord of *Franget*, Whilom Lieutenant of the Marshall of *Chastillions* company, having by the Marshall of *Chabanes* beene placed Governor of *Fontarabie*, in stead of the Earle of *Lude*, and having yeelded the same unto the Spaniards, was condemned to be degraded of all Nobilitie, and not onely himselfe, but all his succeeding posteritie declared villains and clownes, taxable and incapable to beare armes; which severe sentence was put in execution at *Lyons*. The like punishment did afterward all the Gentlemen suffer, that were within *Guise*, when the Earle of *Nansaw* entred the towne: and others since. Neverthelesse if there were so grosse an ignorance, and so apparant cowardize, as that it should exceed all ordinary, it were reason it should be taken for a sufficient proove of inexcusable treacherie, and knaverie, and for such to be punished.

## CHAP. XVI

## A tricke of certaine Ambassadors

IN all my travels I did ever observe this cus- **Always**  
tome, that is, alwaies to learne something by **learn**  
the communication of others (which is one of **some-**  
the best schooles that may be) to reduce those I **thing**  
confer withall, to speake of that wherein they **from**  
are most conversant and skilfull. **others**

*Basti al nochiero ragionar de' venti,  
Albifolco de' tori, e le sue piaghe  
Conti il guerrier, conti il pastor gl' armenti.*

—Idem PROPERT. ii. El. i. 43.

Sailers of windes plow-men of beasts take keepe,  
Let Souldiers count their wounds, shepherds their  
sheepe.

For commonly we see the contrary, that many  
chuse rather to discourse of any other trade than  
their owne; supposing it to be so much new  
reputation gotten: witnes the quip *Archidamus*  
gave *Periander*, saying that he forsooke the credit  
of a good Physitian, to become a paltry Poet.  
Note but how *Cæsar* displaieth his invention  
at large, when he would have us conceive his  
inventions how to build bridges, and devices,  
how to frame other war-like engins; and in  
respect of that how close and succinct he writes,  
when he speaketh of the offices belonging to his  
profession, of his valour, and of the conduct of  
his war-fare. His exploits prove him a most

Many excellent Captaine, but he would be known for  
 dabble in a skilfull Ingenier, a quality somewhat strange  
 other in him. *Dionysius* the elder was a very great  
 trades chieftaine and Leader in warre, as a thing best  
 than their fitting his fortune : but he greatly laboured by  
 own meanes of Poetry, to assume high commendation  
 unto himselfe, howbeit he had but little skill  
 in it. A certaine Lawier was not long since  
 brought to see a study, stored with all manner  
 of bookes, both of his owne, and of all other  
 faculties, wherein he found no occasion to enter-  
 taine himselfe withall, but like a fond cunning  
 clarke earnestly busied himselfe to glosse and  
 censure a fence or barricado, placed over the  
 screw of the study, which a hundred Captaines  
 and Souldiers see everie day, without observing  
 or taking offence at them.

*Optat cphippia bos piger, optat arare caballus.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* xiv. 43.

The Oxe would trappings weare,  
 The Horse, ploughs-yoake would beare.

By this course you never come to perfection,  
 or bring any thing to good passe. Thus must  
 a man endeavour to induce the Architect, the  
 Painter, the Shoemaker to speake of their owne  
 trade, and so of the rest, every man in his voca-  
 tion. And to this purpose am I wont, in read-  
 ing of histories (which is the subject of most  
 men) to consider who are the writers : If they  
 be such as professe nothing but bare learning,  
 the chiefe thing I learne in them, is their stile  
 and language : if Physitians, I beleieve them in

whatsoever they shall report concerning the temperatenesse of the aire, the health and complexion of Princes, or of hurts and infirmities: If Lawiers, we should observe the controversies of rights, titles, and pretenses of lawes and customes, the establishments of policies, and such like things: If Divines, we may note the affaires of the Church, the Ecclesiasticall censures, dispensations, cases of conscience, and marriages: If Courtiers, manners, complements, ceremonies, and entertainments: If Warriors, what belongs unto their charge, but chiefly the managing and conduct of the atchievements or exploits wherein they have been themselves in person: If Ambassadors, the negotiations, intelligences, practices, policies, and manner how to direct, complot, and conduct them. And therefore what in another Writer I should peradventure have cursorie passed over, I have with some advisednesse considered and marked the same in the historie of the Lord of *Langey*, a man most expert and intelligent in such matters: which is, that after he had exactly set downe and declared those glorious, and farre-fetcht remonstrances of the Emperor *Charles* the fifth made in the consistorie of *Rome*, in the presence of the Bishop of *Mascon*, and the Lord of *Velly*, our Ambassadors; wherein he entermixed many bitter and outrageous words against us; and amongst others, that if his Captaines and Souldiers were not of much more faithfulness and sufficiencie in the art of warre than our Kings, he would forthwith tie a rope about his necke,

Learn of  
each man  
his trade

An envoy  
should  
not con-  
ceal truth

and goe aske him mercy: whereof he seemed to beleeeve something: for afterward whilest he lived, he chanced twice or thrice to utter the verie same words. Moreover, that he had challenged the King to fight with him, man to man in his shirt, with Rapier and Dagger in a boat. The said Lord of *Langey*, following his storie, addeth that the said Ambassadors making a dispatch of what had passed unto the king, dissembled the chieftest part unto him, yea and concealed the two precedent articles from him. Now me thought it very strange, that it should lie in the power of an Ambassador to dispence with any point, concerning the advertizements he should give unto his Master, namely of such consequence, comming from such a person, and spoken in so great an assembly, whereas me seemed it should have beene the office of a trustie servant, truly and exactly to set downe things as they were, and in what manner they had succeeded: to the end the libertie of disposing, judging and chusing, might wholly lie in the master. For to alter and conceale the truth from him, for feare he should conster and take it otherwise than he ought, and lest that might provoke him to some bad resolution; and in the meane while to suffer him to be ignorant of his owne affaires, mee thought should rather have appertained to him that giveth the law, than to him that receiveth the same; to the Master or over-seer of the schoole, and not to him who should thinke himselfe inferior, as well in authority, as in wisdom and good counsell. How-

soever it were, I would be loth be so used in mine owne small and particular businesse, we doe so willingly upon every slight occasion and pretence neglect and forgoe commandement, and are so farre from obeying, that we rather usurp a kinde of masterie, and free power: every man doth so naturally aspire unto liberty and authoritie, that no profit ought to be so deare unto a superiour, proceeding from those that serve him as their simple and naturall obedience. Whosoever obeyeth by discretion, and not by subjection, corrupteth and abuseth the office of commanding. And *P. Crassus* he whom the Romans deemed five times happy, when he was Consull in *Asia*, having sent a Græcian Inginer, to bring the greatest of two ship-masts before him, which he had seene in *Athens*, therewith to frame an engine of batterie: This man under colour of his skill, presumed to doe otherwise than he was bidden, and brought the lesser of the two masts which according to his arts reason hee deemed the fittest. *Crassus* having patiently heard his reasons and allegations, caused him to be well whipped; preferring the interest of true discipline, before that of the worke. On the other side a man might also consider, that this so strict obedience belongs but to precise and prefixed commandements. Ambassadors have a more scopefull and free charge, which in many points dependeth chiefly of their disposition. They doe not meereley execute, but frame and direct by their owne advice and counsell, the will of their Master.

The  
letter and  
spirit of  
obedience

**Too minute orders** I have in my dayes seene some persons of commandement, checked and found fault withall, because they had rather obeyed the literall sense, and bare words of the Kings letters, than the occasions of the affaires they had in hand. Men of understanding and experience doe yet at this day condemne the custome of the Kings of *Persia*, which was to mince the instructions given to their Agents, and Lieutenants so small, that in the least accident they might have recourse to their directions and ordinances: This delay, in so farre reaching a scope of domination, having often brought great prejudice, and notable dammage unto their affaires. And *Crassus* writing unto a man of that profession, and advertizing him of the use whereto he purposed the foresaid mast; seemeth he not to enter into conference with him concerning his determination, and wish him to interpose his censure or advice of it.

## CHAP. XVII

## Of feare

*Obstupui, steteruntque comæ, et vox faucibus hæsit.*

—VIRG. *Æn.* ii. 774.

I stood agast, my haire on end,  
My jaw-tide tongue no speech would lend.

I AM no good Naturalist (as they say) and I know not well by what springs feare doth worke in us: but well I wot it is a strange



passion: and as Physitians say, there is none doth sooner transport our judgement out of his due seat. Verily I have seene divers become mad and senselesse for feare: yea and in him, who is most settled and best resolved, it is certaine that whilst his fit continueth, it begetteth many strange dazelings, and terrible amazements in him. I omit to speake of the vulgar sort, to whom it sometimes representeth strange apparitions, as their fathers and grandfathers ghosts, risen out of their graves, and in their winding sheets: and to others it somtimes sheweth Larves, Hobgoblins, Robbin-good-fellowes, and such other Bug-beares and *Chimeraes*. But even amongst Souldiers, with whom it ought to have no credit at all, how often hath she changed a flocke of sheep into a troupe of armed men? Bushes and shrubs into men-at-armes and Lanciers? our friends into our enemies? and a red crosse into a white? At what time the Duke of *Bourbon* tooke *Rome*, an Ancient that kept sentinell, in the borough *Saint Peter*, was at the first alarum surprised with such terror, that with his colours in his hand, he suddenly threw himselfe thorow the hole of a breach out of the Citie, and fell just in the midst of his enemies, supposing the way to goe straight in the heart of the Citie: but in the end he no sooner perceived the Duke of *Burbons* troupes, advancing to withstand him, imagining it to bee some sallie the Citizens made that way, hee better bethinking himselfe, turned head, and the very same way, he came out, he went into the towne

Effects of  
fear

Fear  
addeth  
wings or  
benumbs

again, which was more than three hundred paces distance towards the fields. The like happened, but not so successfully unto Captaine *Julius* his ensigne-bearer at what time Saint *Paul* was taken from us by the Earle of *Bures*, and the Lord of *Reu*, who was so frightened with feare, that going about to cast himselfe over the towne wals, with his Ancient in his hand, or to creepe thorow a spike-hole, he was cut in peeces by the assailants. At which siege likewise, that horror and feare is very memorable, which so did choake, seize upon, and freeze the heart of a gentleman, that having received no hurt at all, he fell downe starke dead upon the ground before the breach. The like passion [or] rage doth sometimes possesse a whole multitude. In one of the encounters that *Germanicus* had with the Germanes, two mightie troupes were at one instant so frightened with feare, that both betooke themselves to their heeles, and ran away two contrary wayes, the one right to that place whence the other fled. It sometimes addeth wings unto our heeles, as unto the first named, and other times it takes the use of feet from us: as we may reade of *Theophilus* the Emperour, who in a battell hee lost against the Agarens, was so amazed and astonied, that he could not resolve to scape away by flight: *adeò pavor etiam auxilia formidat*: Feare is so afraid even of that should help. Untill such time as *Manuel*, one of the chiefe leaders in his armie, having rouzed and shaken him, as it were out of a dead sleepe, said unto him, *Sir, if you will not presently follow me, I will surely kill you, for better*

were it you should lose your life, than being taken In fear of  
 prisoner, lose your Empire and all. Then doth fear  
 she shew the utmost of her power, when for her  
 owne service, she casts us off unto valour, which  
 it hath exacted from our duty and honor. In  
 the first set battell, the Romans lost against  
*Hanibal*, under the Consul *Sempronius*, a troupe  
 of wel-nigh ten thousand footmen, was so sur-  
 prised with feare, that seeing no other way to  
 take, nor by what other course to give their  
 basenes free passage, they headlong bent their  
 flight toward the thickest and strongest squadron  
 of their enemies, which with such furie it rowted  
 and brake through, as it disranked, and slew a  
 great number of the Carthaginians: purchasing a  
 reproachfull and disgracefull flight, at the same  
 rate it might have gained a most glorious victorie.  
 It is feare I stand most in feare of. For, in  
 sharpnesse it surmounteth all other accidents.  
 What affection can be more violent and just than  
 that of *Pompeyes* friends, who in his owne ship  
 were spectators of that horrible massacre? yet is  
 it, that the feare of the *Ægyptian* sailes, which  
 began to approach them, did in such sort daunt  
 and skare them, that some have noted, they only  
 busied themselves to hasten the marriners, to  
 make what speed they could, and by maine  
 strength of oares to save themselves, untill such  
 time, as being arrived at *Tyre*, and that they  
 were free from feare, they had leasure to bethinke  
 themselves of their late losse, and give their  
 plaints and teares free passage, which this other  
 stronger passion had suspended and hindred.

Owners  
of goods  
fear most

*Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat.*

—1. CIC. *Tusc. Qu.* iv. ex Enn. ; *De Orat.* iii

Feare then unbreasts all wit,  
That in my minde did sit.

Those who in any skirmish or sudden bickering of warre have been throughly skared, sorehurt, wounded, and gored as they be, are many times the next day after, brought to charge againe. But such as have conceived a true feare of their enemies, it is hard for you to make them looke them in the face againe. Such as are in continuall feare to lose their goods, to be banished, or to be subdued, live in uncessant agonie and languor ; and thereby often lose both their drinking, their eating, and their rest. Whereas the poore, the banished, and seely servants, live often as carelesly and as pleasantly as the other. And so many men, who by the impatience and urging of feare, have hanged, drowned, and headlong tumbled downe from some rocke, have plainly taught us, that feare is more importunate and intolerable than death. The Græcians acknowledge another kinde of it, which is beyond the error of our discourse : proceeding, as they say, without any apparent cause, and from an heavenly impulsion. Whole Nations and Armies are often seene surprised with it. Such was that, which brought so wonderfull a desolation to *Carthage*, where nothing was heard but lamentable out-cries, and frightfull exclamations : the inhabitants were seene desperately to runne out of their houses, as to a sudden alarum, and furiously to charge, hurt,

and enter-kill one another, as if they had beene enemies come to usurpe and possesse their Citie. All things were there in a disordered confusion, and in a confused furie, untill such time as by praiers and sacrifices they had appeased the wrath of their Gods. They call it to this day, the Panike terror (ERAS. *Chil.* ii. cent. x. ad. 19; *Chil.* iii. cet. vii. ad. 3).

Panic  
terror

## CHAP. XVIII

That we should not judge of our happinesse,  
untill after our death

—*scilicet ultima semper*  
*Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus*  
*Ante obitum nemo, supremaque funera debet.*  
—OVID. *Met.* iii. 135.

We must expect of man the latest day,  
Nor er'e he die, he's happie, can we say.

THE very children are acquainted with the storie of *Cræsus* to this purpose: who being taken by *Cyrus*, and by him condemned to die, upon the point of his execution, cried out aloud: Oh *Solon*, *Solon*! which words of his, being reported to *Cyrus*, who inquiring what he meant by them, told him, hee now at his owne cost verified the advertisement *Solon* had before times given him: which was, "that no man, what cheerefull and blandishing countenance soever fortune shewed them, may rightly deeme himselfe

No man happy until dead happie, till such time as he have passed the last day of his life, by reason of the uncertaintie and vicissitude of humane things, which by a very light motive, and slight occasion, are often changed from one to another cleane contrary state and degree." And therefore *Agésilas* answered one that counted the King of *Persia* happy, because being very young, he had gotten the garland of so mightie and great a dominion: yea but said he, *Priam* at the same age was not unhappy. Of the Kings of *Macedon*, that succeeded *Alexander* the great, some were afterward seene to become Joyners and Scriveners at *Rome*: and of Tyrants of *Sicilie*, Schoolemasters at *Corinth*: One that had conquered halfe the world, and been Emperour over so many Armies, became an humble, and miserable suter to the raskally officers of a king of *Ægypt*: At so high a rate did that great *Pompey* purchase the irkesome prolonging of his life but for five or six moneths. And in our fathers daies, *Lodowicke Sforze*, tenth Duke of *Millane*, under whom the state of *Italie* had so long beene turmoiled and shaken, was seene to die a wretched prisoner at *Loches* in *France*, but not till he had lived and lingered ten yeares in thraldome, which was the worst of his bargaine. The fairest Queene, wife to the greatest King of Christendome, was she not lately seene to die by the hands of an executioner? Oh unworthie and barbarous crueltie! And a thousand such examples. For, it seemeth that as the sea-billowes and surging waves, rage and storme against the surly pride

and stubborne height of our buildings; So are there above, certaine spirits that envie the rising prosperities and greatnesse heere below.

The philosophy  
of Solon

*Usque adeò res humanas res abdita quædam  
Obterit, et pulchros fascēs sævâsque securēs  
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.*

—LUCRET. v. 1243

A hidden power so mens states hath out-worne  
Faïre swords, fierce scepters, signes of honours  
borne,

It seemes to trample and deride in scorne.

And it seemeth Fortune doth sometimes narrowly watch the last day of our life, thereby to shew her power, and in one moment to overthrow what for many yeares together she had beene erecting, and makes us crie after *Laberius*, *Nimirum hac die una plus vixi, mihi quam vivendum fuit.* Thus it is, *I have lived longer by this one day, than I should.* So may that good advice of *Solon* be taken with reason. But forsomuch as hee is a Philosopher, with whom the favours or disfavours of fortune, and good or ill lucke have no place, and are not regarded by him; and puissances and greatneses, and accidents of qualitie, are well nigh indifferent: I deeme it very likely he had a further reach, and meant that the same good fortune of our life, which dependeth of the tranquillitie and contentment of a welborne minde, and of the resolution and assurance of a well ordered soule, should never be ascribed unto man, untill he have beene seene play the last act of his comedie, and without doubt the hardest. In all the rest there may be

Death is the master-day some maske : either these sophisticall discourses of Philosophie are not in us but by countenance, or accidents that never touch us to the quick, give us alwaies leasure to keep our countenance setled. But when that last part of death, and of our selves comes to be acted, then no dissembling will availe, then is it high time to speake plaine English, and put off all vizards : then whatsoever the pot containeth must be shewne, be it good or bad, foule or cleane, wine or water.

*Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo  
Eiiciuntur, et eripitur persona, manet res.*

—LUCRET. iii. 57.

For then are sent true speeches from the heart,  
We are our selves, we leave to play a part.

Loe heere, why at this last cast, all our lives other actions must be tride and touched. It is the master-day, the day that judgeth all others : it is the day, saith an auncient Writer, that must judge of all my forepassed yeares. To death doe I referre the essay of my studies fruit. There shall wee see whether my discourse proceed from my heart, or from my mouth. I have seene divers, by their death, either in good or evill, give reputation to all their forepassed life. *Scipio*, father in law to *Pompey*, in well dying, repaired the ill opinion which untill that houre men had ever held of him. *Epaminondas* being demanded, which of the three he esteemed most, either *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates*, or himselfe ; *It is necessary*, said he, *that we be seene to die, before your question may well be resolved.* Verily we should steale



much from him, if he should be weighed without the honour and greatnesse of his end. God hath willed it, as he pleased : but in my time three of the most execrable persons, that ever I knew in all abomination of life, and the most infamous, have beene seen to die very orderly and quietly, and in every circumstance composed even unto perfection. There are some brave and fortunate deaths. I have seene her cut the twine of some mans life, with a progresse of wonderful advancement, and with so worthie an end, even in the flowre of his growth, and spring of his youth, that in mine opinion, his ambitious and haughtie couragious designes, thought nothing so high, as might interrupt them : who without going to the place where he pretended, arived there more gloriously and worthily, than either his desire or hope aimed at. And by his fall fore-went the power and name, whither by his course he aspired. When I judge of other mens lives, I ever respect, how they have behaved themselves in their end ; and my chieftest study is, I may well demeane my selfe at my last gaspe, that is to say, quietly, and constantly.

The  
death of  
Etienne  
de la  
Boëtie

## CHAP. XIX

That to Philosophie, is to learne how to die

*CICERO* saith, that to *Philosophie* is no other thing, than for a man to prepare himselfe to death : which is the reason, that studie and con-

**Pleasure** temptation doth in some sort withdraw our soule  
**is our end** from us, and severally employ it from the body, which is a kind of apprenticeship and resemblance of death; or else it is, that all the wisdom and discourse of the world, doth in the end resolve upon this point, to teach us, not to feare to die. Truly either reason mockes us, or it only aimeth at our contentment, and in fine, bends all her travell to make us live well, and as the holy Scripture saith, *at our ease*. All the opinions of the world conclude, that pleasure is our end, howbeit they take divers meanes unto, and for it, else would men reject them at their first coming. For, who would give eare unto him, that for it's end would establish our paine and disturbance? The dissensions of philosophicall sects in this case, are verball: *Transcurramus solertissimas nugas: Let us run over such over-fine fooleries, and subtile trifles*. There is more wilfulnesse and wrangling among them, than pertaines to a sacred profession. But what person a man undertakes to act, he doth ever therewithall personate his owne. Although they say, that in vertue it selfe, the last scope of our aime is voluptuousnes. It pleaseth me to importune their eares still with this word, which so much offends their hearing: And if it imply any chiefe pleasure or exceeding contentments, it is rather due to the assistance of vertue, than to any other supply, voluptuousnes being more strong, sinnowie, sturdie, and manly, is but more seriously voluptuous. And we should give it the name of pleasure, more favorable, sweeter, and more

naturall; and not terme it vigor, from which it hath his denomination. Should this baser sensuality deserve this faire name, it should be by competencie, and not by privilege. I finde it lesse void of incommodities and crosses, than vertue. And besides that, her taste is more fleeting, momentarie, and fading, she hath her fasts, her eves, and her travels, and both sweat and bloud. Furthermore she hath particularly so many wounding passions, and of so severall sorts, and so filthie and loathsome a s[a]cietie waiting upon her, that shee is equivalent to penitencie. Wee are in the wrong, to thinke her incommodities serve her as a provocation, and seasoning to her sweetnes, as in nature one contrarie is vivified by another contrarie: and to say, when we come to vertue, that like successes and difficulties over-whelme it, and yeeld it austere and inaccessible. Whereas much more properly then unto voluptuousnes, they ennoble, sharpen, animate, and raise that divine and perfect pleasure, which it [mediates] and procureth us. Truly he is verie unworthie her acquaintance, that counterballanceth her cost to his fruit, and knowes neither the graces nor use of it. Those who go about to instruct us, how her pursuit is very hard and laborious, and her jovisance well pleasing and delightfull: what else tell they us, but that shee is ever unpleasant and irksome? For, what humane meane did ever attaine unto an absolute enjoying of it? The perfectest have beene content but to aspire and approach her, without ever possessing her. But they are deceived; seeing

Virtue  
and  
voluptu-  
ousness

**The contempt of death** that of all the pleasures we know, the pursute of them is pleasant. The enterprise is perceived by the qualitie of the thing, which it hath regard unto : for it is a good portion of the effect, and consubstantiall. That happines and felicitie, which shineth in vertue, replenisheth her approaches and appurtenances, even unto the first entrance and utmost barre. Now of all the benefits of vertue, the contempt of death is the chiefest, a meane that furnisheth our life with an ease-full tranquillitie, and gives us a pure and amiable taste of it : without which every other voluptuousnes is extinguished. Loe, here the reasons why all rules encounter and agree with this article. And albeit they all leade us with a common accord to despise griefe, povertie, and other accidentall crosses, to which mans life is subject, it is not with an equall care : as well because accidents are not of such a necessitie, for most men passe their whole life without feeling any want or povertie, and other-some without feeling any griefe or sicknes, as *Xenophilus* the Musitian, who lived an hundred and six yeares in perfect and continuall health : as also if the worst happen, death may at all times, and whensoever it shall please us, cut off all other inconveniences and crosses. But as for death, it is inevitable.

*Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium  
Versatur urna, serius, ocyus .  
Sors exitura, et nos in æternum  
exilium impositura cymbæ.*

—HOR. iii. Od. iii. 25.

All to one place are driv'n, of all  
 Shak't is the lot-pot, where-hence shall  
 Sooner or later drawne lots fall,  
 And to deaths boat for aye enthrall.

Death is  
 inevitable

And by consequence, if she make us affeard,  
 it is a continual subject of torment, and which  
 can no way be eased. There is no starting-hole  
 will hide us from her, she will finde us where-  
 soever we are, we may as in a suspected countrie  
 start and turne here and there: *quæ quasi*  
*saxum Tantalò semper impendit* (Cic. Fin. i.):  
*Which evermore hangs like the stone over the head*  
*of Tantalus*: Our lawes doe often condemne  
 and send malefactors to be executed in the same  
 place where the crime was committed: to which  
 whilst they are going, leade them along the  
 fairest houses, or entertaine them with the best  
 cheere you can,

*non Siculæ dapes*  
*Dulcem elaborabunt saporem:*  
*Non avium, citharæque cantus*  
*Somnum reducent.*—HOR. iii. Od. i. 18.

Not all King *Denys* daintie fare,  
 Can pleasing taste for them prepare:  
 No song of birds, no musikes sound  
 Can lullabie to sleepe profound.

Doe you thinke they can take any pleasure  
 in it? or be any thing delighted? and that the  
 finall intent of their voiage being still before  
 their eies, hath not altered and altogether dis-  
 tracted their taste from all these commodities  
 and allurements?

The  
name of  
death  
causes  
terror

*Audit iter, numeratque dies, spatioque viarum  
Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura.*

—CLAUD. in *Ruff.* ii. 1. 137.

He heares his journey, counts his daies, so  
measures he

His life by his waies length, vext with the ill  
shall be.

The end of our carriere is death, it is the  
necessarie object of our aime: if it affright us,  
how is it possible we should step one foot further  
without an ague? The remedie of the vulgar  
sort is, not to thinke on it. But from what  
brutall stupiditie may so grosse a blindnesse  
come upon him? he must be made to bridle his  
Asse by the taile,

*Qui capite ipse suo instituit vestigia retro*

Who doth a course contrarie runne  
With his head to his course begunne.

It is no marvell if he be so often taken trip-  
ping; some doe no sooner heare the name of  
death spoken of, but they are afraid, yea the  
most part will crosse themselves, as if they  
heard the Devill named. And because mention  
is made of it in mens wils and testaments, I  
warrant you there is none will set his hand  
to them, til the Physitian have given his last  
doome, and utterly forsaken him. And God  
knowes, being then betweene such paine and  
feare, with what sound judgement they endure  
him. For so much as this syllable sounded so  
unpleasantly in their eares, and this voice seemed

so ill-boding and unluckie, the Romans had learned to allay and dilate the same by a Periphrasis. In lieu of saying, he is dead, or he hath ended his daies, they would say, he hath lived. So it be life, be it past or no, they are comforted: from whom we have borrowed our phrases *quondam, alias, or late such a one*. It may haply be, as the common saying is, the time we live, is worth the mony we pay for it. I was borne betweene eleven of the clocke and noone, the last of Februarie 1533, according to our computation, the yeare beginning the first of Januarie. It is but a fortnight since I was 39. yeares old. I want at least as much more. If in the meane time I should trouble my thoughts with a matter so farre from me, it were but folly. But what? we see both young and old to leave their life after one selfe-same condition. No man departs otherwise from it, than if he but now came to it, seeing there is no man so crazed, bedrell, or decrepit, so long as he remembers *Methusalem*, but thinkes he may yet live twentie yeares. Moreover, seely creature as thou art, who hath limited the end of thy daies? Happily thou presumest upon Physitians reports. Rather consider the effect and experience. By the common course of things, long since thou livest by extraordinarie favour. Thou hast alreadie over-past the ordinarie tearmes of common life: And to prove it, remember but thy acquaintances and tell me how many more of them have died before they came to thy age, than have either attained or outgone the same: yea and of

Birth of  
Mon-  
taigne

**Death** those that through renoune have ennobled their  
**surprises** life, if thou but register them, I will lay a wager,  
**us in** I will finde more that have died before they  
**many** came to five and thirty yeares, than after. It  
**ways** is consonant with reason and pietie, to take  
 example by the humanity of *Jesus Christ*, who  
 ended his humane life at three and thirtie yeares.  
 The greatest man that ever was being no more  
 than a man, I meane *Alexander* the great, ended  
 his dayes, and died also of that age. How  
 many severall meanes and waies hath death to  
 surprise us!

*Quid quisque vitet, nunquam homini satis  
 Cautum est in horas.*—HOR. ii. *Od.* xiii. 13.

A man can never take good heed,  
 Hourely what he may shun and speed.

I omit to speake of agues and pleurisies;  
 who would ever have imagined, that a Duke of  
*Brittanie* should have beene stifled to death in  
 a throng of people, as whilome was a neighbour  
 of mine at *Lyons*, when Pope *Clement* made his  
 entrance there? Hast thou not seene one of our  
 late Kings slaine in the midst of his sports?  
 and one of his ancestors die miserably by the  
 chocke of an hog? *Eschilus* fore-threatned by  
 the fall of an house, when he stood most upon  
 his guard, stricken dead by the fall of a Tortoise  
 shell, which fell out of the tallants of an Eagle  
 flying in the aire? and another choaked with the  
 kernell of a grape? And an Emperour die by  
 the scratch of a combe, whilest he was combing  
 his head: And *Æmylius Lepidus* with hitting his



foot against a doore-seele? And *Aufidius* with stumbling against the Consull-Chamber doore as he was going in thereat? And *Cornelius Gallus* the Prætor, *Tigillinus* Captaine of the Romane watch, *Lodowike* sonne of *Guido Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantua*, end their daies betweene womens thighs? And of a farre worse example *Speusippus* the Platonian Philosopher and one of our Popes? Poore *Bebius* a Judge whilst he demurreth the sute of a plaintife but for eight daies, behold his last expired; And *Caius Julius* a Physitian, whilst he was annointing the eies of one of his patients, to have his owne sight closed for ever by death. And if amongst these examples, I may adde one of a brother of mine, called Captaine *Saint Martin*, a man of three and twentie yeares of age, who had alreadie given good testimonie of his worth and forward valour, playing at tennis, received a blow with a ball, that hit him a little above the right eare, without apparance of any contusion, bruse, or hurt, and never sitting or resting upon it, died within six houres after of an Apoplexie, which the blow of the ball caused in him. These so frequent and ordinary examples, hapning, and being still before our eies, how is it possible for man to forgo or forget the remembrance of death? and why should it not continually seeme unto us, that shee is still ready at hand to take us by the throat? What matter is it, will you say unto me, how and in what manner it is, so long as a man doe not trouble and vex himselfe therewith? I am of this opinion, that howso-

Death of  
Mon-  
taigne's  
brother

**Death** ever a man may shrowd or hide himselfe from  
**equally** her dart, yea were it under an oxe-hide, I am  
**overtakes** not the man would shrinke backe: it sufficeth  
**cowards** me to live at my ease; and the best recreation  
**and** I can have, that doe I ever take; in other  
**heroes** matters, as little vainglorious, and exemplare  
 as you list.

*—prætulerim delirus inersque videri,  
 Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,  
 Quam sapere et ringi.—*Id. ii. *Epi.* ii. 126.

A dotard I had rather seeme, and dull,  
 So me my faults may please make me a gull,  
 Than to be wise, and beat my vexed scull.

But it is folly to thinke that way to come  
 unto it. They come, they goe, they trot, they  
 daunce: but no speech of death. All that is  
 good sport. But if she be once come, and on a  
 sudden and openly surprise, either them, their  
 wives, their children, or their friends, what  
 torments, what out-cries, what rage, and what  
 despaire doth then overwhelme them? saw you  
 ever any thing so drooping, so changed, and so  
 distracted? A man must looke to it, and in  
 better times fore-see it. And might that brutish  
 carelesnesse lodge in the minde of a man of  
 understanding (which I find altogether impos-  
 sible) she sels us her ware at an over-deere rate:  
 were she an enemy by mans wit to be avoided,  
 I would advise men to borrow the weapons of  
 cowardlinesse: but since it may not be, and that  
 be you either a coward or a runaway, an honest  
 or valiant man, she overtakes you,

*Nempe et fugacem persequitur virum,  
Nec parcat imbellis iuventa  
Poplitibus, timidoque tergo.*—ID. iii. Od. ii. 14.

Shee persecutes the man that flies,  
Shee spares not weake youth to surprise,  
But on their hammes and backe turn'd plies.

Fight  
death  
with a  
resolute  
mind

And that no temper of cuirace may shield or  
defend you,

*Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et ære,  
Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput.*  
—PROP[ER]T. iii. El. xvii. 25.

Though he with yron and brasse his head empale,  
Yet death his head enclosed thence will hale.

Let us learne to stand, and combat her with a  
resolute minde. And begin to take the greatest  
advantage she hath upon us from her, let us take  
a cleane contrary way from the common, let us  
remove her strangenesse from her, let us converse,  
frequent, and acquaint our selves with her, let  
us have nothing so much in minde as death, let  
us at all times and seasons, and in the ugliest  
manner that may be, yea with all faces shapen  
and represent the same unto our imagination.  
At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a  
stone, at the least prick with a pinne, let us  
presently ruminare and say with our selves, what  
if it were death it selfe? and thereupon let us  
take heart of grace, and call our wits together  
to confront her. Amiddest our bankets, feasts,  
and pleasures, let us ever have this restraint or  
object before us, that is, the remembrance of our  
condition, and let not pleasure so much mislead

The skeleton at the feast or transport us, that we altogether neglect or forget, how many waies, our joyes, or our feasting, be subject unto death, and by how many hold-fasts shee threatens us and them. So did the Ægyptians, who in the midst of their banquetings, and in the full of their greatest cheere, caused the anatomie of a dead man to be brought before them, as a memorandum and warning to their guests.

*Omnes crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum,  
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora.*

—HOR. i. *Epi.* iv. 13.

Thinke every day shines on thee as thy last,  
Welcome it will come, whereof hope was past.

It is uncertaine where death looks for us ; let us expect her everie where : the premeditation of death, is a fore-thinking of libertie. He who hath learned to die, hath unlearned to serve. There is no evill in life, for him that hath well conceived, how the privation of life is no evill. To know how to die, doth free us from all subjection and constraint. *Paulus Æmilius* answered one, whom that miserable king of *Macedon* his prisoner sent to entreat him, he would not lead him in triumph, let him make that request unto him selfe. Verily, if Nature afford not some helpe, in all things, it is very hard that art and industrie should goe farre before. Of my selfe, I am not much given to melancholy, but rather to dreaming and sluggishness. There is nothing wherewith I have ever more entertained my selfe, than with the imagi-

nations of death, yea in the most licentious times of my age.

*Jucundum, cum ætas florida ver ageret.*

—CATUL. *Eleg.* iv. 16.

When my age flourishing  
Did spend it's pleasant spring.

Be  
familiar  
with the  
thought  
of death

Being amongst faire Ladies, and in earnest play, some have thought me busied, or musing with my selfe, how to digest some jealousie, or meditating on the uncertaintie of some conceived hope, when God he knowes, I was entertaining my selfe with the remembrance of some one or other, that but few daies before was taken with a burning fever, and of his sodaine end, coming from such a feast or meeting where I was my selfe, and with his head full of idle conceits, of love, and merry glee; supposing the same, either sicknes or end, to be as neere me as him.

*Jam fuerit, nec post, unquam revocare licebit.*

—LUCR. iii. 947.

Now time would be, no more  
You can this time restore.

I did no more trouble my selfe or frowne at such a conceit, than at any other. It is impossible, we should not apprehend or feele some motions or startings at such imaginations at the first, and comming sodainely upon us: but doubtlesse, he that shall manage and meditate upon them with an impartiall eye, they will assuredly, in tract of time, become familiar to him: Otherwise for my part, I should be in

**Death  
is ever  
near us** continuall feare and agonie ; for no man did ever more distrust his life, nor make lesse account of his continuance : Neither can health, which hitherto I have so long enjoied, and which so seldome hath beene crazed, lengthen my hopes, nor any sicknesse shorten them of it. At every minute me thinkes I make an escape. And I uncessantly record unto my selfe, that whatsoever may be done another day, may be effected this day. Truly hazards and dangers doe little or nothing approach us at our end : And if we consider, how many more there remaine, besides this accident, which in number more than millions seeme to threaten us, and hang over us ; we shall find, that be we sound or sicke, lustie or weake, at sea or at land, abroad or at home, fighting or at rest, in the midst of a battell or in our beds, she is ever alike neere unto us. *Nemo altero fragilior est, nemo in crastinum sui certior.* No man is weaker then other ; none surer of himselfe (to live) till to morrow. Whatsoever I have to doe before death, all leasure to end the same, seemeth short unto me, yea were it but of one houre. Some body, not long since turning over my writing tables, found by chance a memoriall of something I would have done after my death : I told him (as indeed it was true,) that being but a mile from my house, and in perfect health and lustie, I had made haste to write it, because I could not assure my self I should ever come home in safety ; As one that am ever hatching of mine owne thoughts, and place them in my

selfe: I am ever prepared about that which I may be: nor can death (come when she please) put me in mind of any new thing. A man should ever, as much as in him lieth, be ready booted to take his journey, and above all things, looke he have then nothing to doe but with himselfe.

Why  
attempt  
so much?

*Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo  
Multa?*—HOR. ii. Od. xvi.

To aime why are we ever bold,  
At many things in so short hold?

For then we shall have worke sufficient, without any more accrease. Some man complaineth more that death doth hinder him from the assured course of an hoped for victorie, than of death it selfe; another cries out, he should give place to her, before he have married his daughter, or directed the course of his childrens bringing up; another bewaileth he must forgoe his wives company: another moaneth the losse of his children the chieftest commodities of his being. I am now by meanes of the mercy of God in such a taking, that without regret or grieving at any worldly matter, I am prepared to dislodge, whensoever he shall please to call me: I am every where free: my farewell is soone taken of all my friends, except of my selfe. No man did ever prepare himselfe to quit the world more simply and fully, or more generally [shake] of all thoughts of it, than I am fully assured I shall doe. The deadeest deaths are the best.

Un-  
finished  
works—*Miser, ô miser (aiunt) omnia ademit.**Una dies infesta mihi tot præmia vitæ.*—LUCR. iii. 942.O wretch, O wretch, (friends cry) one day,  
All joyes of life hath tane away :

And the builder,

—*maneant (saith he) opera interrupta, minæque,  
Murorum ingentes.*—VIRG. *Aen.* iv. 88.The workes unfinisht lie,  
And walls that threatned hie.

A man should designe nothing so long afore-  
hand, or at least with such an intent, as to pas-  
sionate himselfe to see the end of it ; we are all  
borne to be doing.

*Cùm moriar, medium solvar et inter opus.*—OVID. *Am.* ii. El. x. 36.When dying I my selfe shall spend,  
Ere halfe my businesse come to end.

I would have a man to be doing, and to pro-  
long his lives offices, as much as lieth in him,  
and let death seize upon me, whilst I am setting  
my cabiges, carelesse of her dart, but more of  
my unperfect garden. I saw one die, who being  
at his last gaspe, uncessantly complained against  
his destinie, and that death should so unkindly  
cut him off in the midst of an historie which  
he had in hand, and was now come to the fifteenth  
or sixteenth of our Kings.

*Illud in his rebus non addunt, nec tibi earum,**Jam desiderium rerum super insidet una.*—LUCR. iii. 944.Friends adde not that in this case, now no more  
Shalt thou desire, or want things wisht before.



A man should rid himselfe of these vulgar and hurtfull humours. Even as Church-yards were first placed adjoyning unto churches, and in the most frequented places of the City, to enure (as *Lycurgus* said) the common people, women and children, not to be skared at the sight of a dead man, and to the end that continuall spectacle of bones, sculs, tombes, graves and burials, should forewarne us of our condition, and fatall end.

The witness of church-yards

*Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivio cæde  
Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira,  
Certantum ferro, sæpe et super ipsa cadentum  
Pocula, respersis non parco sanguine mensis.*

—SYL. *Ital.* xi. 51.

Nay more, the manner was to welcome guests,  
And with dire shewes of slaughter to mix feasts.  
Of them that fought at sharpe, and with bords  
tainted  
Of them with much bloud, who o'er full cups  
fainted.

And even as the *Ægyptians* after their feastings and carousings, caused a great image of death to be brought in and shewed to the guests and by-standers, by one that cried aloud, *Drinke and be mery, for such shalt thou be when thou art dead*: So have I learned this custome or lesson, to have alwaies death, not only in my imagination, but continually in my mouth. And there is nothing I desire more to be informed of, than of the death of men: that is to say, what words, what countenance, and what face they shew at their death; and in reading of histories, which I so

Think of death before-hand attentively observe. It appeareth by the shuffling and huddling up of my examples, I affect no subject so particularly as this. Were I a composer of books, I would keepe a register, commented of the divers deaths, which in teaching men to die, should after teach them to live. *Dicearcus* made one of that title, but of another and lesse profitable end. Some man will say to mee, the effect exceeds the thought so farre, that there is no fence so sure, or cunning so certaine, but a man shall either lose or forget, if he come once to that point; let them say what they list: to premeditate on it, giveth no doubt a great advantage: and [is it] nothing, at the least to goe so farre without dismay or alteration, or without an ague? There belongs more to it: Nature her selfe lends her hand, and gives us courage. If it be a short and violent death, wee have no leisure to feare it; if otherwise, I perceive that according as I engage my selfe in sicknesse, I doe naturally fall into some disdaine and contempt of life. I finde that I have more adoe to digest this resolution, that I shall die when I am in health, than I have when I am troubled with a fever: forsomuch as I have no more such fast hold on the commodities of life, whereof I begin to lose the use and pleasure, and view death in the face with a lesse undanted looke, which makes me hope, that the further I goe from that, and the nearer I approch to this, so much more easily doe I enter in composition for their exchange. Even as I have tried in many other occurrences, which *Cæsar* affirmed,

that often somethings seeme greater, being farre from us, than if they bee neere at hand : I have found that being in perfect health, I have much more beene frighted with sicknesse, than when I have felt it. The jollitie wherein I live, the pleasure and the strength make the other seeme so disproportionable from that, that by imagination I amplifie these commodities by one moitie, and apprehended them much more heavie and burthensome, than I feele them when I have them upon my shoulders. The same I hope will happen to me of death. Consider we by the ordinary mutations, and daily declinations which we suffer, how Nature deprives us of the [sight] of our losse and empairing : what hath an aged man left him of his youths vigor, and of his forepast life ?

We are  
led to  
death by  
degrees

*Heu senibus vitæ portio quanta manet !*

—COR. Gal. i. 16.

Alas to men in yeares how small  
A part of life is left in all ?

*Cæsar* to a tired and crazed Souldier of his guard, who in the open street came to him, to beg leave, he might cause himselfe to be put to death ; viewing his decrepit behaviour, answerd pleasantly : *Doest thou thinke to be alive then ?* Were man all at once to fall into it, I doe not thinke we should be able to beare such a change, but being faire and gently led on by her hand, in a slow, and as it were unperceived descent, by little and little, and step by step, she rouses us into that miserable state, and day by day seekes

Death in  
life

to acquaint us with it. So that when youth failes in us, we feele, nay we perceive no shaking or transchange at all in our selves: which in essence and veritie is a harder death, than that of a languishing and irkesome life, or that of age. Forsomuch as the leape from an ill being, unto a not being, is not so dangerous or steepie; as it is from a delightfull and flourishing being, unto a painfull and sorrowfull condition. A weake bending, and faint [stooping] bodie hath lesse strength to beare and undergoe a heavie burden: So hath our soule. She must bee rouzed and raised against the violence and force of this adversarie. For as it is impossible, she should take any rest whilst she feareth: whereof if she be assured (which is a thing exceeding humane condition) she may boast that it is impossible, unquietnesse, torment, and feare, much lesse the least displeasure should lodge in her.

*Non vultus instantis tyranni  
Mente quatit solida, neque Auster,  
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,  
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus.*

—HOR. iii. Od. iii.

No urging tyrants threatning face,  
Where minde is sound can it displace,  
No troublous wind the rough seas Master,  
Nor *Joves* great hand the thunder-caster.

She is made Mistris of her passions and concupiscence, Lady of indulgence, of shame of povertie, and of all fortunes injuries. Let him that can, attaine to this advantage: Herein consists the true and soveraigne liberty, that affords

us meanes wherewith to jeast and make a scorne of force and injustice, and to deride imprisonment, gives, or fetters.

Death is  
the be-  
ginning  
of life

—*in manicis, et*

*Compeditibus, sævo te sub custode tenebo.*

*Ipse Deus simul atque volam, me solvet: opinor,*

*Hoc sentit moriar, mors ultima linea rerum est.*

—[HOR.] i. *Epi.* xvi. 76.

In gyves and fetters I will hamper thee,  
Under a Jayier that shall cruell be:  
Yet, when I will, God me deliver shall,  
He thinks, I shall die: death is end of all

Our religion hath had no surer humane foundation, than the contempt of life. Discourse of reason doth not only call and summon us unto it. For why should we feare to lose a thing, which being lost, cannot be moaned? but also, since we are threatned by so many kinds of death, there is no more inconvenience to feare them all, than to endure one: what matter is it when it commeth, since it is unavoidable? *Socrates* answered one that told him, The thirty Tyrants have condemned thee to death; *And Nature* them, said he. What fondnesse is it to carke and care so much, at that instant and passage from all exemption of paine and care? As our birth brought us the birth of all things, so shall our death the end of all things. Therefore is it as great follie to weepe, we shall not live a hundred yeeres hence, so to waile we lived not a hundred yeeres agoe. *Death is the beginning of another life.* So wept we, and so much did it cost us to enter into this life; and so did we

Epheme-  
ral life

spoil us of our ancient vaile in entring into it. Nothing can be grievous that is but once. Is it reason so long to feare a thing of so short time? Long life or short life is made all one by death. For long or short is not in things that are no more. *Aristotle* saith, there are certaine litle beasts alongst the river *Hyspanis*, that live but one day; she which dies at 8. a clocke in the morning, dies in her youth, and she that dies at 5. in the afternoon, dies in her decrepitude, who of us doth not laugh, when we shall see this short moment of continuance to be had in consideration of good or ill fortune? The most and the least in ours, if we compare it with eternitie, or equall it to the lasting of mountaines, rivers, stars, and trees, or any other living creature, is no lesse ridiculous. But nature compels us to it. *Depart* (saith she,) *out of this world, even as you came into it. The same way you came from death to life, retorne without passion or amazement, from life to death: your death is but a peece of the worlds order, and but a parcell of the worlds life.*

—*inter se mortales mutua vivunt,  
Et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.*

—*LUCR. ii. 74, 77.*

Mortall men live by mutuall entercourse:  
And yeeld their life-torch, as men in a course.

Shal I not change this goodly contexture of things for you? It is the condition of your creation: death is a part of your selves: you flie from your selves. The being you enjoy, is equally shared betweene life and death. The

first day of your birth doth as wel addresse you to die, as to live. All life is  
a dying

*Prima quæ vitam dedit, hora, carpsit.*

—SEN. *Her. Fur.* chor. iii.

The first houre, that to men  
Gave life, strait, cropt it then.

*Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.*

—MANIL. *Ast.* iv.

As we are borne we die; the end  
Doth of th' originall depend.

All the time you live, you steale it from death: it is at her charge. The continuall worke of your life, is to contrive death; you are in death, during the time you continue in life: for, you are after death, when you are no longer living. Or if you had rather have it so, you are dead after life: but during life, you are still dying: and death doth more rudely touch the dying, than the dead, and more lively and essentially. If you have profited by life, you have also beene fed thereby, depart then satisfied.

*Cur non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis?*

—LUCR. iii. 982.

Why like a full-fed guest,  
Depart you not to rest?

If you have not knowne how to make use of it: if it were unprofitable to you, what need you care to have lost it? to what end would you enjoy it longer?

—*cur amplius addere quæris*

*Rursum quod pereat male, et ingratum occidat omne?*

—LUCR. iii. 985.

Why seeke you more to gaine, what must againe  
All perish ill, and passe with grieve or paine?

**All days  
are alike** Life in it selfe is neither good nor evill : it is the place of good or evill, according as you prepare it for them. And if you have lived one day, you have seene all : one day is equal to all other daies : There is no other light, there is no other night. This Sunne, this Moone, these Starres, and this disposition, is the very same, which your forefathers enjoyed, and which shall also entertaine your posteritie.

*Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes  
Aspicient.*

No other saw our Sires of old,  
No other shall their sonnes behold.

And if the worst happen, the distribution and varietie of all the acts of my comedie, is performed in one yeare. If you have observed the course of my foure seasons ; they containe the infancie, the youth, the virilitie, and the old age of the world. He hath plaid his part : he knowes no other wilnesse belonging to it, but to begin againe, it will ever be the same, and no other.

*—Versamur ibidem, atque insumus usque.*

—LUCR. iii. 123.

We still in one place turne about,  
Still there we are, now in, now out.

*Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus.*

—VIRG. Georg. ii. 403.

The yeare into it selfe is cast  
By those same steps, that it hath past.

I am not purposed to devise you other new sports.



*Nam tibi præterea quod machiner, inveniamque  
Quod placeat, nihil est, eadem sunt omnia semper.*

—LUCR. ii. 978.

Else nothing, that I can devise or frame,  
Can please thee, for all things are still the same.

No dis-  
content  
or desire  
in the  
grave

Make roome for others, as others have done  
for you. *Equalitie is the chiefe ground-worke  
of equitie, who can complaine to be comprehended  
where all are contained?* So may you live long  
enough, you shall never diminish any thing from  
the time you have to die: it is bootlesse; so  
long shall you continue in that state, which you  
feare, as if you had died being in your swathing-  
clothes, and when you were sucking.

*—licet, quot vis, vivendo vincere secla,  
Mors æterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit.*

—IB. 1126.

Though yeares you live, as many as you will,  
Death is eternall, death remaineth still.

And I will so please you, that you shall have no  
discontent.

*In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te,  
Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum,  
Stansque jacentem.*

—LUCR. iii. 911.

Thou know'st not there shall be not other thou,  
When thou art dead indeed, that can tell how  
Alive to waile thee dying,  
Standing to waile thee lying.

Nor shall you wish for life, which you so much  
desire.

No man  
dies be-  
fore his  
time

*Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque requirit,  
Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit ullum.*

—963, 966.

For then none for himselfe himselfe or life requires:  
Nor are we of our selves affected with desires.

Death is lesse to be feared than nothing, if there  
were any thing lesse than nothing.

*—multo mortem minus ad nos esse putandum,  
Si minus esse potest quam quod nihil esse videmus.*

—970.

Death is much lesse to us, we ought esteeme,  
If lesse may be, than what doth nothing seeme.

Nor alive, nor dead, it doth concerne you  
nothing. Alive, because you are: Dead, be-  
cause you are no more. Moreover, no man dies  
before his houre. The time you leave behinde  
was no more yours, than that which was before  
your birth, and concerneth you no more.

*Respice enim quàm nil ad nos anteacta vetustas  
Temporis æterni fuerit.*—1016.

For marke, how all antiquitie fore-gone  
Of all time e're we were, to us was none.

Wheresoever your life endeth, there is it all.  
The profit of life consists not in the space, but  
rather in the use. Some man hath lived long,  
that hath had a short life. Follow it whilst  
you have time. It consists not in number of  
yeeres, but in your will, that you have lived long  
enough. Did you thinke you should never come  
to the place, where you were still going? There  
is no way but hath an end. And if company

may solace you, doth not the whole world walke  
the same path?

Death is  
common  
to all

—*Omnia te vita perfuncta sequentur.*—1012.

Life past, all things at last  
Shall follow thee as thou hast past.

Doe not all things move as you doe, or keepe  
your course? Is there any thing grows not old  
together with your selfe? A thousand men, a  
thousand beasts, and a thousand other creatures  
die in the very instant that you die.

*Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora sequuta est,  
Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris  
Ploratus mortis comites et funeris atrii.*—ii. 587.

No night ensued day light: no morning followed  
night,  
Which heard not moaning mixt with sick-mens  
groaning,  
With deaths and funerals joyned was that moaning.

To what end recoile you from it, if you cannot  
goe backe? You have seene many who have  
found good in death, ending thereby many many  
miseries. But have you seene any that hath  
received hurt thereby? Therefore is it meere  
simplicitie to condemne a thing you never proved,  
neither by your selfe nor any other. Why doest  
thou complaine of me and of destinie? Doe we  
offer thee any wrong? is it for thee to direct us,  
or for us to governe thee? Although thy age  
be not come to her period, thy life is. A little  
man is a whole man as well as a great man.  
Neither men nor their lives are measured by the

All days  
march  
towards  
death

Ell. *Chiron* refused immortalitie, being informed of the conditions thereof, even by the God of time and of continuance, *Saturne* his father. Imagine truly how much an ever-during life would be lesse tolerable and more painfull to a man, than is the life which I have given him: Had you not death, you would then uncessantly curse, and cry out against me, that I had deprived you of it. I have of purpose and wittingly blended some bitterness amongst it, that so seeing the commoditie of it's use, I might hinder you from over-greedily embracing, or indiscreetly calling for it. To continue in this moderation, that is, neither to flie from life, nor to run to death (which I require of you) I have tempered both the one and other betweene sweetnes and sowrenes. I first taught *Thales* the chiefest of your Sages and Wisemen, that to live and die, were indifferent, which made him answer one very wisely, who asked him, wherefore he died not; *Because*, said he, *it is indifferent. The water, the earth, the aire, the fire, and other members of this my universe, are no more the instruments of thy life, than of thy death. Why fearest thou thy last day? He is no more guiltie, and conferreth no more to thy death, than any of the others. It is not the last step that causeth wearinesse: it only declares it. All daies march towards death, only the last comes to it.* Behold heere the good precepts of our universall mother Nature. I have oftentimes bethought my selfe whence it proceedeth, that in times of warre, the visage of death (whether wee see it in us or

in others) seemeth without all comparison much lesse dreadful and terrible unto us, than in our houses, or in our beds, otherwise it should be an armie of Physitians and whiners, and she ever being one, there must needs bee much more assurance amongst countrie-people and of base condition, than in others. I verily beleeeve, these fearefull lookes, and astonishing countenances wherewith we encompasse it, are those that more amaze and terrifie us than death: a new forme of life; the out-cries of mothers; the wailing of women and children; the visitation of dismaid and swouning friends: the assistance of a number of pale-looking, distracted, and whining servants; a darke chamber: tapers burning round about; our couch beset round with Physitians and Preachers; and to conclude, nothing but horror and astonishment on every side of us: are wee not alreadie dead and buried? The very children are afraid of their friends, when they see them masked; and so are we: The maske must as well be taken from things, as from men, which being removed, we shall finde nothing hid under it, but the very same death, that a seely varlet, or a simple maid-servant, did lately suffer without amazement or feare. Happie is that death, which takes all leasure from the preparations of such an equipage.

The  
horror  
of the  
death-bed

## CHAP. XX

## Of the force of Imagination

The  
advice of  
Simon  
Thomas

*FORTIS imaginatio generat casum: A strong imagination begetteth chance,* say learned clearks. I am one of those that feele a very great conflict and power of imagination. All men are shockt therewith, and some overthrowne by it. The impression of it pierceth me, and for want of strength to resist her, my endeavour is to avoid it. I could live with the only assistance of holy and merry-hearted men. The sight of others anguishes doth sensibly drive me into anguish: and my sense hath often usurped the sense of a third man. If one cough continually, he provokes my lungs and throat. I am more unwilling to visit the sicke dutie doth engage me unto, than those to whom I am little beholding, and regard least. I apprehend the evill which I studie, and place it in me. I deeme it not strange that she brings both agues and death to such as give her scope to worke her wil, and applaude her. *Simon Thomas* was a great Physitian in his daies. I remember upon a time comming by chance to visit a rich old man that dwelt in *Tholouse*, and who was troubled with the cough of the lungs, who discoursing with the said *Simon Thomas* of the meanes of his recoverie, he told him, that one of the best was, to give me occasion to be delighted in his companie, and that fixing his eyes upon

the livelines and freshnes of my face, and setting his thoughts upon the jolitie and vigor, wherewith my youthfull age did then flourish, and filling all his senses with my florishing estate, his habitude might thereby be amended, and his health recovered. But he forgot to say, that mine might also be empaired and infected. *Gallus Vibius* did so well enure his minde to comprehend the essence and motions of folly, that he so transported his judgement from out his seat, as he could never afterward bring it to his right place againe: and might rightly boast, to have become a foole through wisdom. Some there are, that through feare anticipate the hangmans hand; as he did, whose friends having obtained his pardon, and putting away the cloth wherewith he was hood-winkt, that he might heare it read, was found starke dead upon the scaffold, wounded only by the stroke of imagination. Wee sweat, we shake, we grow pale, and we blush at the motions of our imaginations; and wallowing in our beds we feele our bodies agitated and turmoiled at their apprehensions, yea in such manner, as sometimes we are ready to yeeld up the spirit. And burning youth (although asleepe) is often therewith so possessed and enfolded, that dreaming it doth satisfie and enjoy her amorous desires.

Too  
realistic  
imagina-  
tion

*Ut quasi transactis sæpe omnibu' rebu' profundant  
Fluminis ingentes fluctus, vestemque cruentent.*

—LUCR. iv. 1027.

And if all things were done, they powre forth  
streames,  
And bloodie their night-garment in their dreames.

Physical  
effects of  
imagination

And although it be not strange to see some men have hornes growing upon their head in one night, that had none when they went to bed : notwithstanding the fortune or successe of *Cyppus* King of *Italie* is memorable, who because the day before he had with earnest affection, assisted and beene attentive at a bul-baiting, and having all night long dreamed of hornes in his head, by the very force of imagination brought them forth the next morning in his forehead. An earnest passion gave the son of *Cræsus* his voice, which nature had denied him. And *Antiochus* got an ague, by the excellent beautie of *Stratonice* so deeply imprinted in his minde. *Plinie* reporteth to have seene *Lucius Cossitius* upon his marriage day to have beene transformed from a woman to a man. *Pontanus* and others recount the like Metamorphosies to have hapned in *Italie* these ages past : And through a vehement desire of him and his mother.

*Vota puer solvit, quæ fâmina voverat Iphis.*

—OVID. *Metam.* ix. 794.

*Iphis* a boy, the vowes then paid,  
Which he vow'd when he was a maid.

My selfe traveling on a time by *Vitry* in *France*, hapned to see a man, whom the Bishop of *Soissons* had in confirmation, named *Germane*, and all the inhabitants thereabout have both knowne and seene to be a woman-childe, untill she was two and twentie yeares of age, called by the name of *Marie*. He was, when I saw him, of good yeares, and had a long beard,



and was yet unmarried. He saith, that upon a time leaping, and straining himselfe to overleape another, he wot not how, but where before he was a woman, he suddenly felt the instrument of a man to come out of him; and to this day the maidens of that towne and countrie have a song in use, by which they warne one another, when they are leaping, not to straine themselves overmuch, or open their legs too wide, for feare they should bee turned to boies, as *Marie Germane* was. It is no great wonder, that such accidents doe often happen, for if imagination have power in such things, it is so continually annexed, and so forcibly fastened to this subject, that lest she should so often fall into the relaps of the same thought, and sharpnesse of desire, it is better one time for all, to incorporate this virile part unto wenches. Some will not sticke to ascribe the scarres of King *Dagobert*, or the cicatrices of Saint *Francis* unto the power of Imagination. Othersome will say, that by the force of it, bodies are sometimes removed from their places. And *Celsus* reports of a Priest, whose soule was ravished into such an extasie, that for a long time the body remained void of all respiration and sense. Saint *Augustine* speaketh of another, who if hee but heard any lamentable and wailefull cries, would suddenly fall into a swowne, and bee so forcibly carried from himselfe, that did any chide and braule never so loud, pinch and thumpe him never so much, he could not be made to stirre, untill hee

Imagination in weak minds came to himselfe againe. Then would he say, he had heard sundry strange voyces, comming as it were from a farre, and perceiving his pinches and bruses, wondered at them. And that it was not an obstinate conceit, or wilfull humour in him, or against his feeling sense, it plainly appeared by this, because during his extasie, he seemed to have neither pulse nor breath. It is very likely that the principall credit of visions, of enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, proceedeth from the power of imaginations, working especially in the mindes of the vulgar sort, as the weakest and seeliest, whose conceit and beleefe is so seized upon, that they imagine to see what they see not. I am yet in doubt, these pleasant bonds, where-with our world is so fettered, and *France* so pestered, that nothing else is spoken of, are haply but the impressions of apprehension, and effects of feare. For I know by experience, that some one, for whom I may as well answer as for my selfe, and in whom no manner of suspicion either of weaknesse or enchantment might fall, hearing a companion of his make report of an extraordinary faint sowning, wherein he was fallen, at such a time, as he least looked for it, and wrought him no small shame, whereupon the horror of his report did so strongly strike his imagination, as he ranne the same fortune, and fell into a like drooping : And was thence forward subject to fall into like fits : So did the passionate remembrance of his inconvenience possesse and

tyrannize him ; but his fond doting was in time remedied by another kinde of raving. For himselfe avowing and publishing aforehand the infirmitie he was subject unto, the contention of his soule was solaced upon this, that bearing his evill as expected, his dutie thereby diminished, and he grieved lesse thereat. And when at his choice, he hath had law and power (his thought being cleered and unmasked, his body finding it selfe in his right due and place) to make the same to be felt, seized upon, and apprehended by others knowledge : he hath fully and perfectly recovered himselfe. If a man have once beene capable, he cannot afterward be incapable, except by a just and absolute weaknesse. Such a mischief is not to be feared, but in the enterprises, where our minde is beyond all measure bent with desire and respect ; and chiefly where opportunitie comes unexpected, and requires a sudden dispatch. There is no meanes for a man to recover himselfe from this trouble ; I know some, who have found to come unto it with their bodies as it were halfe glutted else - where, thereby to stupifie or allay the heat of that furie, and who through age, finde themselves lesse unable, by how much more they be lesse able : And another, who hath also found good, in that a friend of his assured him to bee provided with a counter-battery of forcible enchantments, to preserve him in any such conflict : It is not amisse I relate how it was. An Earle of very good place, with

Too  
strong  
desire

The gift of Peletier whom I was familiarly acquainted, being married to a very faire Lady, who had long beene solicited for love, by one assisting at the wedding, did greatly trouble his friends; but most of all an old Lady his kins-woman, who was chiefe at the marriage, and in whose house it was solemnized, as she that much feared such sorceries and witchcrafts: which shee gave mee to understand, I comforted her as well as I could, and desired her to relie upon me: I had by chance a peece of golden plate in my trunke, wherein were ingraven certaine celestiall figures, good against the Sunne-beames, and for the head-ach, being fitly laid upon the suture of the head: and that it might the better be kept there, it was sewed to a riband, to be fastened under the chin. A fond dotting conceit, and cosin-germane to that wee now speake of. *James Peletier* had whilest he lived in my house, bestowed that singular gift upon mee; I advised my selfe to put it to some use, and told the Earle, he might haply be in danger, and come to some misfortune as others had done, the rather because some were present, that would not sticke to procure him some ill lucke, and which was worse, some spitefull shame; but neverthelesse I willed him boldly to goe to bed: For I would shew him the part of a true friend, and in his need, spare not for his good to employ a miracle, which was in my power; alwaies provided, that on his honour he would promise me faithfully to keepe it very secret; which was only, that when about mid-

night he should have his [caudle] brought him, And its  
 if he had had no good successe in his busi- use  
 nesse, he should make such and such a signe  
 to me. It fel out, his mind was so quailed,  
 and his eares so dulled, that by reason of the  
 bond wherewith the trouble of his imagination  
 had tied him, hee could not run on poste: and  
 at the houre appointed, made the signe agreed  
 upon betweene us, I came and whispered him  
 in the eare, that under pretence to put us all  
 out of his chamber, he should rise out of his  
 bed, and in jesting manner take my night-  
 gowne which I had on, and put it upon him-  
 selfe (which he might well doe, because wee  
 were much of one stature) and keepe it on  
 till he had performed my appointment, which  
 was, that when we should be gone out of the  
 Chamber, he should withdraw himselfe to make  
 water, and using certaine jestures, I had shewed  
 him, speake such words thrice over. And every  
 time hee spake them he should girt the ribband,  
 which I put into his hands, and very carefully  
 place the plate thereto fastned, just upon his  
 kidneyes, and the whole figure, in such a pos-  
 ture. All which when he had accordingly  
 done, and the last time so fastened the ribband,  
 that it might neither be untide nor stirred from  
 his place, he should then boldly and confidently  
 returne to his charge, and not forget to spread  
 my night-gowne upon his bed, but so as it  
 might cover them both. These fopperies are  
 the chiefe of the effect. Our thought being  
 unable so to free it selfe, but some strange

Montaigne  
hates  
craft

meanes will proceed from some abstruse learning: Their inanitie gives them weight and credit. To conclude, it is most certaine, my Characters proved more venerian than solare, more in action, than in prohibition. It was a ready and curious humour drew me to this effect, farre from my nature. I am an enemie to craftie and fained actions, and hate all suttletie in my hands, not only recreative, but also profitable. If the action be not vicious, the course unto it is faultie. *Amasis* King of *Ægypt*, tooke to wife *Laodice*, a very beauteous yong virgin of *Greece*, and he that before had in every other place found and shewed himsef a lustie gallant, found himsef so short, when he came to grapple with her, that he threatned to kill her, supposing it had beene some charme or sorcerie. As in all things that consist in the fantasie, she addrest him to devotion. And having made his vowes and promises to *Venus*, he found himsef divinely freed, even from the first night of his oblations and sacrifices. Now they wrong us, to receive and admit us with their wanton, squeamish, quarellous countenances, which setting us a fire, extinguish us.

*Pythagoras* his neece was wont to say, *That a woman which lies with a man ought, together with her petie-coate, leave off all bashfulnessse, and with her petie-coate, take the same againe.* The minde of the assailant molested with sundry different alarums, is easily dismaid. And he whom imagination hath once made to suffer

this shame (and she hath caused the same to be felt but in the first acquaintances; because they are then burning and violent, and in the first acquaintance and comming together, or triall a man gives of himselfe, he is much more afraid and quaint to misse the marke he shoots at) having begun ill he fals into an ague or spite of this accident, which afterward continueth in succeeding occasions. Married men, because time is at their command, and they may go to it when they list, ought never to presse or importune their enterprise, unlesse they be readie. And it is better undecently to faile in hanseling the nuptiall bed, full of agitation and fits, by waiting for some or other fitter occasion, and more private opportunitie, lest sudden and alarmed, than to fall into a perpetuall miserie, by apprehending an astonishment and desperation of the first refusall. Before possession taken, a patient ought by sallies, and divers times, lightly assay and offer himselfe without vexing or opiniating himselfe, definitively to convince himselfe. Such as know their members docile and tractable by nature, let them only endeavour to countercosin their fantasie. Men have reason to checke the indocile libertie of this member, for so importunately insinuating himselfe when we have no need of him, and so importunately, or as I may say impertinently failing, at what time we have most need of him; and so imperiously contesting by his authority with our will, refusing with such fiercenes and obstinacie our

Importu-  
nity to be  
curbed

All mem-  
bers war  
against  
the will

solicitations both mentall and manuall. Nevertheless if a man inasmuch as he doth gorman-dize and devour his rebellion, and drawes a triall by his condemnation, would pay me for to plead his cause, I would peradventure make other of our members to be suspected to have (in envy of his importance, and sweetness of his use) devised this imposture, and framed this set quarrell against him, and by some malicious complot armed the world against him, enviously charging him alone with a fault common to them all. For I referre it to your thought, whether there be any one particular part of our body, that doth not sometimes refuse her particular operation to our will and wish, and that doth not often exercise and practise against our will. All of them have their proper passions, which without any leave of ours doe either awaken or lull them asleepe. How often doe the forced motions and changes of our faces witnesse the secretest and most lurking thoughts we have, and bewray them to by-standers? The same cause that doth animate this member, doth also, unwitting to us, embolden our heart, our lungs, and our pulses. The sight of a pleasing object, reflecting imperceptibly on us, the flame of a contagious or aguish emotion. Is there nought besides these muscles and veines, that rise and fall without the consent, not only of our will, but also of our thought? We cannot command our haire to stand an end, nor our skinne to startle for desire or feare. Our hands are often carried where we direct them



not. Our tongue and voice are sometimes to seeke of their faculties, the one loseth her speech, the other her nimblenesse. Even when we have nothing to feed upon, we would willingly forbid it: the appetites to eat, or list to drinke, doe not leave to move the parts subject to them, even as this other appetite, and so, though it be out of season, forsaketh us, when he thinks good. Those instruments that serve to discharge the belly, have their proper compressions and dilatations, besides our intent, and against our meaning, as these are destined to discharge the kidneis. And that which, the better to authorize our wills power, Saint *Augustin* alleageth, to have seene one, who could at all times command his posterior, to let as many scapes as he would, and which *Vives* endeareth by the example of an other in his daies, who could let tunable and organized ones, following the tune of any voice propounded unto his eares, inferreth the pure obedience of that member: than which, none is commonly more indiscreet and tumultuous. Seeing my selfe know one so skittish and mutinous, that these fortie yeares keepes his master in such awe, that will he, or nill he, he will with a continuall breath, constant and unintermitted custome breake winde at his pleasure, and so brings him to his grave. And would to God I knew it but by Histories, how that many times our belly, being restrained thereof, brings us even to the gates of a pining and languishing death: And that the Emperour, who gave us free leave to vent at all times, and every where, had

Control  
of the  
body

Nature will follow her course also given us the power to doe it. But our will, by whose privilege we advance this reproch, how much more likely, and consonant to trueth may we tax it of rebellion, and accuse it of sedition, by reason of its unrulinesse and disobedience? Will shee at all times doe that, which we would have her willingly to doe? Is shee not often willing to effect that, which we forbid her to desire? and that to our manifest prejudice and dammage? Doth she suffer her selfe to be directed by the conclusions of our reason? To conclude, I would urge in defence of my client, that it would please the Judges to consider, that concerning this matter, his cause being inseparably conjoynd to a consort, and indistinctly: yet will not a man addresse himselfe but to him, both by the arguments and charges, which can no way appertaine to his said consort. For, his effect is indeed sometime importunately to invite, but to refuse never: and also to invite silently and quietly. Therefore is the sawcinesse and illegalitie of the accusers scene. Howsoever it be, protesting that Advocates and Judges may wrangle, contend, and give sentence, what, and how they please, Nature will in the meane time follow her course: who, had she endued this member with any particular privilege, yet had she done but right, and shewed but reason. Author of the only immortall worke, of mortall men. Divine worke according to *Socrates*; and love, desire of immortalitie, and immortall *Dæmon* himselfe. Some man peradventure, by the effects of imagination leaveth the pox or Kings evill

heere, which his companion carrieth into *Spaine* againe: loe heere why in such cases men are accustomed to require a prepared minde, wherefore doe Physitians labour and practise before hand the conceit and credence of their patients, with so many false promises of their recoverie and health, unlesse it be that the effect of imagination may supple and prepare the imposture of their decoction? They knew that one of their trades-master hath left written, how some men have been found, in whom the only sight of a potion hath wrought his due operation: All which humor or caprice is now come into my minde, upon the report which an Apothecarie, whilome a servant in my fathers house, was wont to tell me, a man by knowledge simple, and by birth a Switzer; a nation little vaine-glorious, and not much given to lying, which was, that for a long time he had knowne a Merchant in *Tholouse*, sickish, and much troubled with the stone, and who often had need of glisters, who according to the fits and occurrences of his evill, caused them diversly to be prescribed by Physitians. Which being brought him, no accustomed forme to them belonging was omitted, and would often taste whether they were too hot, and view them well, and lying along upon his bed, on his bellie, and all complements performed, only injection excepted, which ceremony ended, the Apothecarie gone, and the patient lying in his bed, even as if he had received a glister indeed, he found and felt the very same effect, which they doe that have effectually taken them. And

The tale  
of the  
apothecary

The woman and the pin if the Physitian saw it had not wrought sufficiently, he would accordingly give him two or three more in the same manner. My witnesse protesteth, that the sicke mans wife, to save charges (for he paid for them as if he had received them) having sometimes assaid to make them onely with luke warme water, the effect discovered the craft, and being found not to worke at all, they were forced to returne to the former, and use the Apothecarie. A woman supposing to have swallowed a pinne with her bread, cried and vexed her-selfe, even as if she had felt an intolerable paine in her throat, where she imagined the same to sticke; but because there appeared neither swelling or alteration, a skilfull man deeming it to be but a fantasie conceived, or opinion, apprehended by eating of some gretty peece of bread, which haply might pricke her in the swallow, made her to vomit, and unknowne to her, cast a pinne in that which she had vomited. Which the woman perceiving, and imagining she had cast the same, was presently eased of her paine. I have knowne a Gentleman, who having feasted a company of very honest Gentlemen and Gentlewomen, in his owne house, by way of sport, and in jest, boasted two or three daies after (for there was no such thing) that he had made them eat of a baked Cat; whereat [a] Gentlewoman of the companie apprehended such horror, that falling into a violent ague and distemper of her stomacke, she could by no meanes be recovered. Even brute beasts, as well as we, are seene to be subject to

the power of imagination; witnesse some Dogs, Animals  
subject to  
the power  
of imagi-  
nation  
who for sorrow of their Masters death are seene to die, and whom we ordinarily see to startle and barke in their sleep, and horses to neigh and struggle. But all this may be referred to the narrow suture of the Spirit and the body, enter-communicating their fortunes one unto another. It is another thing, that imagination doth sometimes worke, not only against her owne body, but also against that of others. And even as one body ejecteth a disease to his neighbour, as doth evidently appeare by the plague, pox, or sore eies, that goe from one to another:

*Dum spectant oculi læsos, læduntur et ipsi:  
Multaque corporibus transitione nocent.*

—OVID. *Am.* ii. 219.

Eies become sore, while they looke on sore eies:  
By passage many ills our limmes surprise.

Likewise the imagination moved and tossed by some vehemence, doth cast some darts, that may offend a strange object. Antiquitie hath held, that certaine women of *Scithia*, being provoked and vexed against some men, had the power to kill them, only with their looke. The Tortoises and the Estriges hatch their egges with their looks only, a signe that they have some ejaculative vertue. And concerning witches they are said to have offensive and harme-working eies.

*Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.*

—VIRG. *Buc. Ecl.* iii. 103.

My tender Lambs I cannot see,  
By what bad eie, bewitched be.

The power of the eyes      Magitians are but ill respondents for me. So it is, that by experience wee see women to trans-ferre divers markes of their fantasies, unto children they beare in their wombes: witnes she that brought forth a Blacke-a-more. There was also presented unto *Charles* King of *Bohemia*, an Emperour, a young girle, borne about *Pisa*, all shagd and hairy over and over, which her mother said, to have beene conceived so, by reason of an image of *Saint John Baptist*, that was so painted, and hung over her bed. That the like is in beasts, is witnessed by *Jacobs* sheepe, and also by partridges and hares, that grow white by the snow upon mountaines. There was lately seene a cat about my owne house, so earnestly eyeing a bird, sitting upon a tree, that he seeing the Cat, they both so wistly fixed their looks one upon another, so long, that at last, the bird fell downe as dead in the Cats pawes, either drunken by his owne strong imagination, or drawne by some attractive power of the Cat. Those that love hawking, have haply heard the Falkner tale, who earnestly fixing his sight upon a Kite in the aire, laid a wager that with the only force of his looke, he would make it come stooping downe to the ground, and as some report did it many times. The Histories I borrow, I referre to the consciences of those I take them from. The discourses are mine, and hold together by the prooffe of reason, not of experiences: each man may adde his example to them: and who hath none, considering the number and varietie of accidents, let him not

leave to think, there are store of them. If I come not well for my selfe, let another come for me. So in the studie wherein I treat of our manners and motions, the fabulous testimonies, alwaies provided they be likely and possible, may serve to the purpose, as well as the true, whether it hapned or no, be it at *Rome*, or at *Paris*, to *John* or *Peter*, it is alwaies a tricke of humane capacitie, of which I am profitably advised by this report. I see it and reape profit by it, as well in shadow as in bodie. And in divers lessons that often histories afford, I commonly make use of that, which is most rare and memorable. Some writers there are, whose end is but to relate the events. Mine, if I could attaine to it, should be to declare, what may come to passe, touching the same. It is justly allowed in schooles, to suppose similitudes, when they have none. Yet doe not I so, and concerning that point, in superstitious religion, I exceed all historicall credit. To the examples I here set downe, of what I have read, heard, done, or seene, I have forbid my selfe so much as to dare to change the least, or alter the idlest circumstances. My conscience doth not falsifie the least jot. I wot not whether my insight doth. Concerning this subject I doe sometimes enter into conceit, that it may well become a Divine, a Philosopher, or rather men of exquisite conscience, and exact wisdome, to write histories. How can they otherwise engage their credit upon a popular reputation? How can they answer for the thoughts of unknowne persons? And make

Mon-  
taigne's  
use of  
histories

The  
essence  
of Mont-  
aigne's  
style

their bare conjectures passe for currant paiment? Of the actions of divers members, acted in their presence, they would refuse to beare witnes of them, if by a judge they were put to their corporall oath. And there is no man so familiarly knowne to them, of whose inward intention they would undertake to answer at full. I hold it lesse hazardous to write of things past, than present; forasmuch as the writer is not bound to give account but of a borrowed trueth. Some perswade mee to write the affaires of my time, imagining I can see them with a sight lesse blinded with passion, than other men, and perhaps neerer, by reason of the accesse which fortune hath given me to the chieftest of divers factions. But they will not say, how for the glory of *Salust*, I would not take the paines; as one that am a vowed enemy to observance, to assiduitie, and to constancie, and that there is nothing so contrarie to my stile, as a continued narration. I doe so often for want of breath breake off and interrupt my selfe. I have neither composition nor explication of any worth. I am as ignorant as a childe of the phrases and vowels belonging to common things. And therefore have I attempted to say what I can, accommodating the matter to my power. Should I take any man for a guide, my measure might differ from his. For, my libertie being so farre, I might haply publish judgements, agreeing with me, and consonant to reason, yet unlawfull and punishable. *Plutarke* would peradventure tell us of that which he hath written, that it is the worke of others,



that his examples are in all and everie where true, that they are profitable to posteritie, and presented with a lustre, that lights and directs us unto vertue, and that is his worke. It is not dangerous, as in a medicinable drug, whether in an old tale or report, be it thus or thus, so or so.

Oneman's  
meat is  
another  
man's  
poison

## CHAP. XXI

The profit of one man is the damage  
of another

*DEMADES* the Athenian condemned a man of the Citie, whose trade was to sell such necessities as belonged to burials, under colour, hee asked too much profit for them: and that such profit could not come unto him without the death of many people. This judgement seemeth to be ill taken, because no man profiteth but by the losse of others: by which reason a man should condemne all manner of gaine. The Merchant thrives not but by the licentiousnesse of youth; the Husbandman by dearth of corne; the Architect but by the ruine of houses; the Lawyer by suits and controversies betweene men: Honour it selfe, and practice of religious Ministers, is drawne from our death and vices. *No Physitian delighteth in the health of his owne friend, saith the ancient Greeke Comike: nor no Souldier is pleased with the peace of his Citie, and so of the rest.* And which is worse, let every man sound

**Custom a hard task-mistress** his owne conscience, hee shall finde, that our inward desires are for the most part nourished and bred in us by the losse and hurt of others; which when I considered, I began to thinke, how Nature doth not gainesay herselfe in this, concerning her generall policie: for Physitians hold, that *The birth, increase, and augmentation of every thing, is the alteration and corruption of another.*

*Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,  
Continuò hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante.*

—LUCR. 687, 813; ii. 762; iii. 536.

What ever from it's bounds doth changed passe,  
That strait is death of that which erst it was.

## CHAP. XXII

Of custome, and how a received law should  
not easily be changed

**M**Y opinion is, that hee conceived aright of the force of custome, that first invented this tale; how a country woman having enured herselfe to cherish and beare a young calfe in her armes, which continuing, shee got such a custome, that when he grew to be a great oxe, shee carried him still in her armes. For truly, *Custome is a violent and deceiving schoole-mistris.* She by little and little, and as it were by stealth, establisheth the foot of her authoritie in us; by which mild and gentle beginning, if once by the aid of time, it have setled and planted the same in us, it will

soone discover a furious and tyrannicall countenance unto us, against which we have no more the libertie to lift so much as our eies; wee may plainly see her upon every occasion to force the rules of Nature: *Usus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister* (PLIN. *Epis.* xx.): *Use is the most effectuall master of all things.* I beleeeve *Platoes* den mentioned in his common-wealth, and the Physicians that so often quit their arts reason by authoritie; and the same King who by meanes of her, ranged his stomacke to be nourished with poyson; and the mayden that *Albert* mentioneth to have accustomed herselfe to live upon spiders: and now in the new-found world of the *Indians*, there were found divers populous nations, in farre differing climates, that lived upon them; made provision of them, and carefully fed them; as also of grasse-hoppers, pisse-mires, lizards, and night-bats; and a toad was sold for six crownes in a time that all such meats were scarce amongst them, which they boyle, rost, bake, and dresse with divers kinds of sawces. Others have beene found to whom our usuall flesh and other meats were mortall and venomous. *Consuetudinis magna est vis; Pernocant venatores in nive, in montibus uri se patiuntur: Pugiles castibus contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem* (CIC. *Tusc. Qu.* ii.). *Great is the force of custome: Huntsmen wil watch all night in snow, and endure to bee scorched on the hills: Fencers brused with sand-bags or cudgels, doe not so much as groane.* These forrein examples are not strange, if wee but consider what we ordinarily finde by travell, and how custome quailleth

Great is  
the force  
of custom

The jerkin and the bells and weakeneth our customary senses. We need not goe seeke what our neighbours report of the Cataracts of *Nile*; and what Philosophers deeme of the celestiall musicke, which is, that the bodies of it's circles, being solid smooth, and in their rowling motion, touching and rubbing one against another, must of necessitie produce a wonderfull harmonie: by the changes and enter-cappings of which, the revolutions, motions, cadences, and carrols of the asters and planets are caused and transported. But that universally the hearing senses of these low worlds creatures, dizzied and lulled asleepe, as those of the *Ægyptians* are, by the continuation of that sound, how loud and great soever it be, cannot sensibly perceive or distinguish the same. Smiths, Millers, Forgers, Armorers, and such other, could not possibly endure the noise that commonly rings in their eares, if it did pierce them as it doth us. My perfumed Jerkin serveth for my nose to smell unto, but after I have worne it three or foure daies together, not I, but others have the benefit of it. This is more strange, that notwithstanding long intermissions, custome may joyne and establish the effect of her impression upon our senses; as they prove that dwell neere to bells or steeples. I have my lodging neere unto a tower, where both evening and morning a very great bell doth chime *Ave marie* and *Cover-few*, which jangling doth even make the tower to shake; at first it troubled me much, but I was soone acquainted with it, so that now I am nothing offended with it, and many times

it cannot waken me out of my sleepe. *Plato* Custom did once chide a child for playing with nuts, takes root who answered him, *Thou chidest me for a small* in infancy *matter.* *Custome* (replied *Plato*) *is no small matter.* I finde that our greatest vices make their first habit in us, from our infancie, and that our chiefe government and education, lieth in our nurses hands. Some mothers thinke it good sport to see a childe wring off a chickens necke, and strive to beat a dog or cat. And some fathers are so fond-foolish, that they will conster as a good Augur or fore-boding of a martiall minde to see their sonnes misuse a poore peasant, or tug a lackey, that doth not defend himselfe; and impute it to a ready wit, when by some wily disloyaltie, or crafty deceit, they see them cousin and over-reach their fellowes: yet are they the true seeds or roots of cruelty, of tyranny, and of treason. In youth they bud, and afterward grow to strength, and come to perfection by meanes of custome.

And it is a very dangerous institution, to excuse so base and vile inclinations, with the weaknesse of age, and lightnesse of the subject. First, it is nature that speaketh, whose voice is then shriller, purer, and more native, when it is tender, newer, and youngest. Secondly, the deformity of the crime consisteth not in the difference betweene crownes and pinnes; it depends of it selfe. I finde it more just to conclude thus: Why should not hee as well deceive one of a crowne, as he doth of a pinne? than as commonly some doe, saying, alas, it is but a

**Play the  
game** pinne; I warrant you, he will not doe so with crownes. A man would carefully teach children to hate vices of their owne genuity, and so distinguish the deformity of them, that they may not only eschew them in their actions, but above all, hate them in their hearts: and what colour soever they beare, the very conceit may seeme odious unto them. I know well, that because in my youth I have ever accustomed my selfe to tread a plaine beaten path, and have ever hated to entermeddle any manner of deceit of cousoning-craft, even in my childish sports (for truly it is to be noted, that Childrens playes are not sports, and should be deemed as their most serious actions.) There is no pastime so slight, that inwardlie I have not a naturall propension, and serious care, yea extreme contradiction, not to use any deceit. I shuffle and handle the cards, as earnestly for counters, and keepe as strict an accompt, as if they were double duckets, when playing with my wife or children, it is indifferent to mee whether I win or lose, as I doe when I play in good earnest. How and wheresoever it be, mine owne eies will suffice to keepe me in office; none else doe watch mee so narrowly; [nor] that I respect more. It is not long since in mine owne house, I saw a little man, who at *Nantes* was borne without armes, and hath so well fashioned his feet to those services, his hands should have done him, that in truth they have almost forgotten their naturall office. In all his discourses he nameth them his hands, he carveth any meat, he chargeth and shoots off

a pistole, he threds a needle, he soweth, he writeth, puts off his cap, combeth his head, plaieth at cards and dice; shuffleth and handleth them with a great dexteritie as any other man that hath the perfect use of his hands: the monie I have sometimes given him, he hath caried away with his feet, as well as any other could doe with his hands. I saw another, being a Childe, that with the bending and winding of his necke, (because hee had no hands) would brandish a two-hand-Sword, and mannage a Holbard, as nimbly as any man could doe with his hands: he would cast them in the aire, then receive them againe, he would throw a Dagger, and make a whip to yarke and lash, as cunningly as any Carter in *France*. But her effects are much better discovered in the strange impressions, which it worketh in our mindes where it meetes not so much resistance. What cannot she bring to passe in our judgements, and in our conceits? Is there any opinion so fantastical, or conceit so extravagant (I omit to speake of the grosse imposture of religions, wherewith so many great nations and so many worthy and sufficient men have beene besotted, and drunken: For, being a thing beyond the compasse of our humane reason, it is more excusable if a man that is not extraordinarily illuminated thereunto by divine favour, doe lose and mis-carrye himselfe therein) or of other opinions, is there any so strange, that custome hath not planted and established by lawes in what regions soever it hath thought good? And this ancient exclama-

Strange  
effects of  
custom

Custom  
justifies  
strange  
fantasies

tion is most just: *Non pudet physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque naturæ, ab animis consuetudine imbutis quærere testimonium veritatis?* (Cic. Nat. De. i.). Is it not a shame for a naturall Philosopher, that is the watch-man and huntsman of nature, to seeke the testimonie of truth, from mindes endued and double dide with custome? I am of opinion, that no fantasie so mad can fall into humane imagination, that meetes not with the example of some publike custome, and by consequence that our reason doth not ground and bring to a stay. There are certaine people, that turne their backs towards those they salute, and never looke him in the face whom they would honour or worship. There are others, who when the King spitteth, the most favoured Ladie in his court stretcheth forth her hand; and in another countrey, where the noblest about him, stoope to the ground to gather his ordure in some fine linnen cloth: Let us here by the way insert a tale. A French Gentleman was ever wont to blow his nose in his hand, (a thing much against our fashion) maintaining his so doing; and who in wittie jesting was very famous. He asked me on a time, what privilege this filthie excrement had, that wee should have a daintie linnen cloth or handkercher to receive the same; and which is worse, so carefully fold it up, and keepe the same about us, which should be more loathsome to ones stomacke, than to see it cast away, as wee doe all our other excrements and filth. Mee thought he spake not altogether without reason: and custome had taken from me



the discerning of this strangenesse, which being reported of an other countrie we deeme so hideous. Miracles are according to the ignorance wherein we are by nature, and not according to natures essence; use brings the sight of our judgement asleepe. The barbarous heathen are nothing more strange to us, than we are to them: nor with more occasion, as every man would avow, if after he had travelled through these farre-fetcht examples, hee could stay himselfe upon the discourses, and soundly conferre them. Humane reason is a tincture in like weight and measure, infused into all our opinions and customes, what form soever they be of: infinite in matter: infinite in diversitie. But I will returne to my theme. There are certaine people, where, except his wife and children, no man speaketh to the King, but through a trunke. Another nation, where virgins shew their secret parts openly, and married women diligently hide and cover them. To which custome, this fashion used in other places, hath some relation: where chastitie is nothing regarded but for marriage sake; and maidens may at their pleasure lie with whom they list; and being with childe, they may without feare of accusation, spoyle and cast their children, with certaine medicaments, which they have only for that purpose. And in another country, if a Merchant chance to marrie, all other Merchants that are bidden to the wedding, are bound to lie with the bride before her husband, and the more they are in number, the more honour and commendation is hers, for constancie and

Human  
reason  
every-  
where

**Marriage customs** capacitie : the like if a gentleman or an officer marrie ; and so of all others : except it be a day-labourer, or some other of base condition ; for then must the Lord or Prince lie with the bride ; amongst whom (notwithstanding this abusive custome) loyaltie in married women is highly regarded, and held in speciall account, during the time they are married. Others there are, where publike brothel-houses of men are kept, and where open mart of marriages are ever to be had : where women goe to the warres with their husbands, and have place, not onely in fight, but also in command, where they doe not onely weare jewels at their noses, in their lip and cheekes, and in their toes, but also big wedges of gold through their paps and buttocks, where when they eat, they wipe their fingers on their thighs, on the bladder of their genitories, and the soles of their feet, where not children, but brethren and nephewes inherit ; and in some places, the nephewes onely, except in the succession of the Prince. Where to order the communitie of goods, which amongst them is religiously observed, certaine Soveraigne Magistrates have the generall charge of husbandry and tilling of the lands, and of the distribution of the fruits, according to every mans need : where they howle and weepe at their childrens deaths, and joy and feast at their old mens decease. Where ten or twelve men lie all in one bed with all their wives, where such women as lose their husbands, by any violent death, may marrie againe, others not : where the condition of

women is so detested, that they kill all the maiden children, so soone as they are borne, and to supply their naturall need, they buy women of their neighbours. Where men may at their pleasure, without alleaging any carse, put away their wives, but they (what just reason soever they have) can never put away their husbands. Where husbands may lawfully sell their wives, if they be barren. Where they cause dead bodies first to be boyled, and then to be brayed in a mortar, so long till it come to a kind of pap, which afterward they mingle with their wine, and so drinke it. Where the most desired sepulcher that some wish for, is to bee devoured of dogges, and in some places of birds. Where some thinke, that blessed soules live in all liberty, in certaine pleasant fields stored with al commodities, and that from them proceeds that *Eccho*, which we heare. Where they fight in the water, and shoot exceeding true with their bowes as they are swimming. Where in signe of subjection men must raise their shoulders, and stoope with their heads, and put off their shooes when they enter their Kings houses. Where Eunuchs that have religious women in keeping, because they shall not be loved, have also their noses and lips cut off. And Priests that they may the better acquaint themselves with their *Demons*, and take their Oracles, put out their eyes. Where every man makes himselfe a God of what he pleaseth: the hunter of a Lion or a Fox; the fisher, of a certaine kinde of Fish; and frame themselves Idols of every humane

The  
Elysian  
fields

Customs  
of kings  
and states

action or passion: the Sunne, the Moone, and the earth are their chiefest Gods: the forme of swearing is, to touch the ground, looking upon the Sunne, and where they eat both flesh and fish raw. Where the greatest oath is to sweare by the name of some deceased man, that hath lived in good reputation in the countrie, touching his grave with the hand. Where the new-yeares gifts that Kings send unto Princes their vassals every yeare, is some fire, which when it is brought, all the old fire is cleane put out: of which new fire all the neighbouring people are bound upon paine *læsæ majestatis*, to fetch for their uses. Where, when the King (which often commeth to passe) wholly to give himselfe unto devotion, giveth over his charge, his next successor is bound to doe like, and convayeth the right of the Kingdome unto the third heire. Where they diversifie the forme of policie, according as their affaires seeme to require: and where they depose their Kings, when they thinke good, and appoint them certaine ancient grave men to undertake and weald the Kingdoms government, which sometimes is also committed to the communaltie. Where both men and women are equally circumcised, and alike baptised. Where the Souldier, that in one or divers combats hath presented his King with seven enemies heads, is made noble. Where some live under that so rare and unsociable opinion of the mortalitie of soules. Where women are brought a bed without paine or grieve. Where women on both their legs weare greaves of Copper: and

if a louse bite them, they are bound by duty of magnanimitie to bite it againe: and no maid dare marrie, except she have first made offer of her Virginitie to the King. Where they salute one another laying the forefinger on the ground, and then lifting it up toward heaven: where all men beare burthens upon their head, and women on their shoulders. Where women pisse standing, and men cowering. Where in signe of true friendship they send one another some of their owne bloud, and offer incense to men which they intend to honour, as they doe to their Gods: where not onely kindred and consanguinitie in the fourth degree, but in any furthest off, can by no meanes be tolerated in marriages: where children sucke till they be four, and sometimes twelve yeares old, in which place they deeme it a dismall thing to give a childe sucke the first day of his birth. Where fathers have the charge to punish their male-children, and mothers onely maid-children, and whose punishment is to hang them up by the feet and so to smoke them. Where women are circumcised; where they eat all manner of herbes, without other distinction, but to refuse those that have ill favour: where all things are open, and how faire and rich soever their houses be, they have neither doores nor windowes, nor any chests to locke; yet are all theeves much more severely punished there, than any where else; where, as monkees doe, they kill lice with their teeth, and thinke it a horrible matter to see them crusht between their nailes; where men so long as they live never cut their

Salutes,  
mar-  
riages,  
and pun-  
ishments

**Customs of women** haire, nor paire their nailes : another place where they onely paire the nailes of their right hand, and those of the left are never cut, but very curiously maintained : where they indeavour to cherish all the haire growing on the right side, as long as it will grow : and very often shave away that of the left-side : where in some Provinces neere unto us, some women cherish their haire before, and other some that behinde, and shave the contrarie : where fathers lend their children, and husbands their wives to their guests, so that they pay ready mony : where men may lawfully get their mothers with childe : where fathers may lie with their daughters, and with their sonnes : where, in solemne assemblies and banquets, without any distinction of bloud or alliance, men will lend one another their children. In some places men feede upon humane flesh, and in others, where it is deemed an office of pietie in children to kill their fathers at a certaine age : in other places fathers appoint what children shall live, and be preserved, and which die and be cast out, whilst they are yet in their mothers wombe : where old husbands lend their wives to yong men, for what use soever they please : In other places, where al women are common without sinne or offence : yea in some places, where for a badge of honour, they weare as many frienged tassels, fastened to the skirt of their garment as they have laine with severall men. Hath not custome also made a severall common-wealth of women ? hath it not taught them to manage Armes ? to levie Armies, to

marshall men, and to deliver battles? And that which strict-searching Philosophie could never perswade the wisest, doth she not of her owne naturall instinct teach it to the grosest headed vulgar? For we know whole nations, where death is not only con[t]emned, but cherished; where children of seven yeares of age, without changing of countenance, or shewing any signe of dismay, endured to be whipped to death; where riches and worldly pelfe was so despised and holden so contemptible, that the miserablest and neediest wretch of a Citie would have scorned to stoope for a purse full of gold. Have we not heard of divers most fertile regions, plenteously yeelding al maner of necessary victuals, where neverthesse the most ordinary cates and daintiest dishes, were but bread, water-cresses, and water? Did not custome worke this wonder in *Chios*, that during the space of seven hundred yeres it was never found or heard of, that any woman or maiden had her honor or honestie called in question? And to conclude, there is nothing in mine opinion, that either she doth not, or cannot: and with reason doth *Pindarus*, as I have heard say, *Call her the Queene and Empresse of all the world.* He that was met beating of his father, answered, *It was the custome of his house; that his father had so beaten his grandfather, and he his great-grandfather, and pointing to his sonne, said, this child shall also beat mee, when he shall come to my age.* And the father, whom the sonne haled and dragged through thicke and thinne in the street, commanded him to stay at a certaine

The  
Spartan  
boys

In the doore, for himself had dragged his father no  
toils of further : which were the bounds of the heredi-  
custom tarie and injurious demeanours the children of  
that family were wont to shew their fathers. *By  
custome, saith Aristotle, as often as by sicknesse, doe  
we see women tug and teare their haire, bite their  
nailes, and eat cole and earth : and more by custome  
than by nature doe men meddle and abuse themselves  
with men.* The lawes of conscience, which we  
say to proceed from nature, rise and proceed of  
custome : every man holding in special regard,  
and inward veneration the opinions approved,  
and customes received about him, cannot with-  
out remorse leave them, nor without applause  
applie himselfe unto them : when those of  
*Greet* would in former ages curse any man, they  
besought the Gods to engage him in some  
bad custome. But the chiefe effect of her  
power is to seize upon us, and so to entangle  
us, that it shall hardly lie in us, to free our  
selves from her hold-fast, and come into our  
wits againe, to discourse and reason of her ordi-  
nances ; verily, because wee sucke them with the  
milke of our birth, and forasmuch as the worlds  
visage presents it selfe in that estate unto our  
first view, it seemeth we are borne with a con-  
dition to follow that course. And the common  
imaginations we finde in credit about us, and by  
our fathers seed infused in our soule, seeme to  
be the generall and naturall. Whereupon it  
followeth, that whatsoever is beyond the com-  
passe of custome, wee deeme likewise to bee  
beyond the passe of reason ; God knowes



how for the most part, unreasonably. If as we, who study our selves, have learned to doe, every man that heareth a just sentence, would presently consider, how it may in any sort belonging unto his private state, each man should finde, that this is not so much a good word, as a good blow to the ordinary sottishnesse of his judgement. But men receive the admonitions of truth and her precepts, as directed to the vulgar, and never to themselves; and in lieu of applying them to their maners, most men most foolishly and unprofitably apply them to their memorie. But let us returne to customes soveraignty: such as are brought up to libertie, and to command themselves, esteeme all other forme of policie, as monstrous and against nature. Those that are enured to Monarchie doe the like. And what facilitie soever fortune affoordeth them to change, even when with great difficultie they have shaken off the importunitie of a tutor, they run to plant a new one with semblable difficulties, because they cannot resolve themselves to hate tutorship. It is by the [mediation] of custome, that every man is contented with the place where nature hath settled him: and the savage people of *Scotland* have nought to doe with *Touraine*, nor the Scithians with *Thessalie*. *Darius* demanded of certaine Græcians, *For what they would take upon them the Indians custome, to eat their deceased fathers*. (For such was their maner, thinking they could not possibly give them a more noble and favourable tombe, than in their owne bowels) they answered him,

Loyalty  
to accus-  
tomed  
rule

**Indian  
and  
Grecian  
burial** *That nothing in the world should ever bring them to embrace so inhumane a custome:* But having also attempted to perswade the Indians to leave their fashion, and take the Græcians, which was to burne their corpes, they were much more astonied thereat. Every man doth so, forso-much as custome doth so bleare us that we cannot distinguish the true visage of things.

*Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam  
Principio, quod non minuant mirarier omnes  
Paulatim.*—Luc. ii. 1037.

Nothing at first so wondrous is, so great,  
But all, t'admire, by little slake their heat.

Having other times gone about to endeare, and make some one of our observations to be of force, and which was with resolute auctoritie received in most parts about us, and not desiring, as most men doe, onely to establish the same by the force of lawes and examples, but having ever bin from her beginning, I found the foundation of it so weak, that my selfe, who was to confirme it in others, had much adoe to keepe my countenance. This is the receipt by which *Plato* undertaketh to banish the unnaturall and preposterous loves of his time, and which hee esteemeth Sovereigne and principall: To wit, that publike opinion may condemne them; that Poets, and all men else may tell horrible tales of them. A receipt by meanes whereof the fairest Daughters winne no more the love of their fathers, nor brethren most excellent in beautie, the love of their sisters. The very fables of *Thyestes*, of

*Oedipus*, and of *Macareus*, having with the pleasure of their songs infused this profitable opinion, in the tender conceit of children. Certes, chastitie is an excellent vertue, the commoditie whereof is very well knowne : but to use it, and according to nature to prevaile with it, is as hard as it is easie, to endeare it and to prevaile with it according to custome, to lawes and precepts. The first and universall reasons are of a hard perscrutation. And our Masters passe them over in gleaning, or in not daring so much as to taste them, at first sight cast themselves headlong into the libertie or sanctuarie of custome. Those that will not suffer themselves to be drawne out of his originall source, do also commit a greater error, and submit themselves to savage opinions : witnesse *Chrysippus* ; who in so many severall places of his compositions, inserted the small accompt he made of conjunctions, how incestuous soever they were. Hee that will free himselfe from this violent prejudice of custome, shall find divers things received with an undoubted resolution, that have no other anker but the hoarie head and frowning wrimples of custome, which ever attends them : which maske being pulled off, and referring all matters to truth and reason, he shall perceive his judgement, as it were overturned, and placed in a much surer state. As for example, I wil then aske him, what thing can be more strange than to see a people bound to follow lawes, he never understood ? Being in all his domestical affaires, as marriages, donations, testaments, purchases,

Violent  
prejudice  
of custom

The sale of justice and sales, necessarily bound to customary rules, which forsomuch as they were never written nor published in his owne tongue, he cannot understand, and whereof he must of necessity purchase the interpretation and use. Not according to the ingenious opinion of *Isocrates*, who counsel-leth his King to make the *Trafikes and negotiations of his subjects, free, enfranchized and gaineful, and their debates, controversies, and quarrels burthensome, and charged with great subsidies, and impositions* : But according to a prodigious opinion, to make open sale, and trafficke of reason it selfe, and to give lawes a course of merchandize, is very strange. I commend fortune, for that (as our Historians report) it was a Gentleman of *Gaskonie*, and my Countriman, that first opposed himselfe against *Charles* the great, at what time he went about to establish the Latine and Imperiall lawes amongst us. What is more barbarous than to see a nation, where by lawful custome the charge of judging is sold, and judgments are paid for with readie money; and where justice is lawfully denied him, that hath not wherewithall to pay for it; and that this merchandize hath so great credit, that in a politicall government there should be set up a fourth estate of Lawyers, breath-sellers, and pettifoggers, and joyned to the three ancient states, to wit, the Clergie, the Nobility, and the Communalitie; which fourth state having the charge of lawes, and sometimes auctoritie of goods and lives, should make a body, apart, and severall from that of Nobilitie, whence double Lawes must

follow; those of honour, and those of justice; Honour  
 in many things very contrarie do those as rigor- and Law  
 ously condemne a lie pocketed up, as these a lie  
 revenged: by the law and right of armes he that  
 putteth up an injurie shall be degraded of honour  
 and nobilitie; and he that revengeth himselfe  
 of it, shall by the civill Law incurre a capitall  
 punishment. Hee that shall addresse himselfe  
 to the Lawes to have reason for some offence  
 done unto his honour, dishonoreth himselfe.  
 And who doth not so, is by the Lawes punished  
 and chastised. And of these so different parts,  
 both neverthesse having reference to one head;  
 those having peace, these war committed to their  
 charge; those having the gaine, these the honour;  
 those knowledge, these vertue: those reason,  
 these strength: those the word, these action:  
 those justice, these valour: those reason, these  
 force: those a long gowne, and these a short  
 coat, in partage and share. Touching indif-  
 ferent things, as clothes and garments, whosoever  
 will reduce them to their true end, which is the  
 service and commodity of the bodie, whence  
 dependeth their originall grace and comlines, for  
 the most fantasticall to my humour that may be  
 imagined, amongst others I will give them our  
 square caps; that long hood of plaited velvet,  
 that hangs over our womens heads, with his  
 parti-coloured traile, and that vaine and unpro-  
 fitable modell of a member, which we may not  
 so much as name with modestie, whereof not-  
 withstanding we make publike shew, and open  
 demonstration. These considerations do never-

The good thelesse never distract a man of understanding  
and great from following the common guise. Rather  
Socrates on the contrary, me seemeth, that all severall,  
strange, and particular fashions proceed rather  
of follie, or ambitious affectation, than of true  
reason: and that a wise man ought inwardly to  
retire his minde from the common presse, and  
hold the same liberty and power to judge freely  
of all things, but for outward matters, he ought  
absolutely to follow the fashions and forme cus-  
tomarily received. Publike societie hath nought  
to do with our thoughts; but for other things,  
as our actions, our travel, our fortune, and our  
life, that must be accommodated and left to it's  
service and common opinions: as that good and  
great *Socrates*, who refused to save his life by  
disobeying the magistrate, yea a magistrate most  
wicked and unjust. For that is the rule of rules,  
and generall law of lawes, for every man to  
observe those of the place wherein he liveth.

*Νόμοις ἑπεσθαὶ τοῖσιν ἐγχώροις καλόν.*

—*Gnom. Græc.* vii.

Lawes of the native place,  
To follow, is a grace.

Loe here some of another kind. There riseth  
a great doubt, whether any so evident profit may  
be found in the change of a received law, of  
what nature soever, as there is hurt in removing  
the same; forsomuch as a well settled policie  
may be compared to a frame or building of  
divers parts joyned together with such a liga-  
ment as it is impossible to stirre or displace one,

but the whole body must needs be shaken, and shew a feeling of it. The Thurians Law-giver instituted, that, *whosoever would goe about, either to abolish any one of the old Lawes, or attempt to establish a new, should present himself before the people with a roape about his necke, to the end, that if his invention were not approved of all men, he should presently bee strangled.* And he of *Lacedæmon* laboured all his life to get an assured promise of his citizens, that they would never infringe any one of his ordinances. That *Ephore* or *Tribune*, who so rudely cut off the two strings, that *Phrinis* had added unto musicke, respecteth not whether musicke be better or no with them, or whether the accords of it be better filled, he hath sufficient reason to condemne them, because it is an alteration of the old forme. It is that which the old rustie sword of justice of *Marseille* did signifie. I am distasted with noveltie, what countenance soever it shew: and I have reason so to be, for I have seene very hurtfull effects follow the same. That which so many yeares since doth so presse us, hath not yet exploited all. But some may alleage with apparance, that by accident, it hath produced and engendred all, yea both the mischiefes and ruines, that since are committed without and against it: it is that a man should blame and finde fault with.

*Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis.*

—OVID. *Epist. Phyl.* 48.

Alas I suffer smart

Procur'd by mine owne dart.

Busy-  
bodies  
often  
suffer first

Those which attempt to shake an Estate, are commonly the first overthrowne by the fall of it: he that is first mover of the same, reapeth not alwayes the fruit of such troubles; he beats and troubleth the water for others to fish in. The contexture and combining of this monarchie, and great building, having bin dismist and disolved by it, namely in her old yeares, giveth as much overture and entrance as a man will to like injuries. Royall Majestie doth more hardly fall from the top to the middle, than it tumbleth downe from the middle to the bottom. But if the inventors are more damageable, the imitators are more vicious, to cast themselves into examples, of which they have both felt and punished the horror and mischief. And if there be any degree of honour, even in ill doing, these are indebted to others for the glory of the invention, and courage of the first attempt. All sorts of new licentiousnesse doe haply draw out of this originall and fruitfull source, the images and patterns to trouble our common-wealth. We may reade in our very lawes, made for the remedie of the first evill, the apprenticeship and excuse of all sorts of wicked enterprises: And in favour of publike vices, they are named with new and more pleasing words for their excuses, bastardizing and allaying their true titles: yet it is to reforme our consciences and our conceits, *Honesta oratio est* (TEREN. *And.* act i. sc. 1). *It is an honest speech and well said.* But the best pretence of innovation or noveltie is most dangerous: *Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo probabile est.* So



*nothing moved out of the first place is allowable:* The gods  
 Yet me seemeth (if I may speake boldly) that it take care  
 argueth a great selfe-love and presumption, for a of their  
 man to esteeme his opinions so far, that for to own  
 establish them, a man must be faine to subvert a  
 publike peace, and introduce so many inevitable  
 mischiefes, and so horrible a corruption of man-  
 ners, as civill warres, and alterations of a state  
 bring with them, in matters of such consequence,  
 and to bring them into his owne countrie. Is it  
 not ill husbanded to advance so many certaine  
 and knowne vices, for to combate contested and  
 debatable errors? Is there any worse kinde of  
 vices, than those which shooke a mans owne  
 conscience and naturall knowledge? The Senate  
 durst give this defeate in payment about the  
 controversies betweene it and the people for the  
 mysterie of their religion: *Ad deos, id magis*  
*quàm ad se pertinere: ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua*  
*polluantur:* That that did rather belong to the  
 Gods than to them, and the Gods should looke at  
 it, that their due rites were not polluted. Agree-  
 ing with that, which the Oracle answered those  
 of *Delphos*, in the *Median* warre, fearing the  
 invasions of the *Persians*. They demanded of  
 that God what they should doe with the trea-  
 sures consecrated to his Temple, whether hide,  
 or cary them away: who answered them, that  
 they should remove nothing, but take care of  
 themselves, for he was able to provide for all  
 things that were fit for him. Christian religion  
 hath all the markes of extreme justice and profit,  
 but none more apparent than the exact com-

**Divine wisdom** mendment of obedience due unto magistrates, and manutention of policies : what wonderfull example hath divine wisdom left us, which to establish the wel-fare of humane kinde, and to conduct this glorious victorie of hers against death and sinne, would not do it but at the mercy of our politick order, and hath submitted the progresse of it, and the conduct of so high and worthie effect, to the blindness and injustice of our observations and customes, suffering the innocent blood of so many her favored elect to run, and allowing a long losse of yeares for the ripening of this inestimable fruit? There is much difference betweene the cause of him that followeth the formes and lawes of his countrie, and him that undertaketh to governe and change them. The first alleageth for his excuse, simplicitie, obedience, and example ; whatsoever he doth cannot be malice, at the most it is but ill lucke. *Quis est enim, quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata consignataque antiquitas?* (Cic. Div. i.). *For who is he whom antiquitie will not move, being witnessed and signed with former monuments?* Besides that which *Isocrates* saith, that defect hath more part in moderation, than hath excesse. The other is in much worse case. For he that medleth with chusing and changing, usurpeth the authoritie of judging : and must resolve himselfe to see the fault of what he hunteth for, and the good of what he bringeth in. This so vulgar consideration hath confirmed me in my state, and restrained my youth, that was more rash, from burthening my

shoulders with so filthie a burthen, as to make my selfe respondent of so important a science. And in this to dare, what in sound judgement I durst not in the easiest of those wherein I had beene instructed, and wherein the rashnes of judging is of no prejudice. Seeming most impious to me, to goe about to submit publike constitutions and unmoveable observances, to the instabilitie of a private fantasie (private reason is but a private jurisdiction) and to undertake that on divine-lawes, which no policie would tolerate in civill law. Wherein although mans reason have much more commerce, yet are they sovereignly judges of their judges: and their extreme sufficiencie serveth to expound custome and extend the use, that of them is received, and not to divert and innovate the same. If at any time divine providence hath gone beyond the rules, to which it hath necessary constrained us, it is not to give us a dispensation from them. They are blowes of her divine hand, which we ought not imitate, but admire: as extraordinarie examples, markes of an expresse and particular avowing of the severall kinds of wonders, which for a testimonie of her omnipotencie it offereth us, beyond our orders and forces, which it is follie and impietie to goe about to represent, and which we ought not follow but contemplate with admiration, and meditate with astonishment. Acts of her personage, and not of ours. *Cotta* protesteth very opportunely; *Quum de religione agitur, T. Coruncanum, P. Scipionem, P. Scævolam, Pontifices maximos, non Zenonem, aut*

Instabi-  
 lity of  
 private  
 judgment

**Evils of civil war** *Cleanthem, aut Chrysippum, sequor* (Cic. *De Nat.* iii. p.). *When we talke of religion, I follow Titus Coruncanus, Publius Scipio, P. Scævola, and the professors of religion, not Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus.*

May God know it in our present quarell, wherein are a hundred articles, yea, great and deepe articles, to be removed and altered, although many there are, who may boast to have exactly survaied the reasons and foundations of one and other faction. It is a number, if it be a number, that should have no great meane to trouble us. But whither goeth all this other throng? Under what colours doth it quarter it selfe? It followeth of theirs, as of other weake and ill applied medicines, the humors, that it would have purged in us, it hath enflamed, exasperated, and sharpned, by her conflict, and still do remaine in our bodies. It could not by reason of her weaknesse purge us, but hath rather weakned us; so that we cannot now void it, and by her operation we reap nothing but long, continuall, and intestine griefes and aches, yet is it, that fortune, ever reserving her authoritie above our discourses, doth somtimes present us the urgent necessitie, that lawes must needs yeeld her some place: And when a man resisteth the increase of an innovation, brought in by violence, to keepe himselfe each-where and altogether in rule and bridle against those that have the keyes of fields, to whom all things are lawfull, that may in any sort advance their desseigne, that have not law, nor order, but to follow their advantage,

it is a dangerous obligation, and prejudiciall  
inequalitie.

Bow be-  
fore the  
blast

*Aditum nocendi perfido præstat fides.*

—SEN. *Oed.* act iii. sc. 1

Trust in th' untrustie, may  
To hurt make open way.

For so much as the ordinarie discipline of an estate, that hath his perfect health, doth not provide for these extraordinarie accidents, it presupposeth a bodie holding it selfe in his principall members and offices, and a common consent to observe and obey it. Lawfull proceeding is a cold, dull, heavie and forced proceeding: and is not like to hold out against a licentious and unbridled proceeding. It is yet as all men know, a reproach to those two great personages, *Octavius* and *Cato*, in their civill warres; the one of *Scilla*, the other of *Cæsar*, because they rather suffered their countrie to incur all extremities, than by her lawes to aid her, or to innovate any thing. For truly in these last necessities, where nothing is left to take hold by, it were peradventure better, to shrug the shoulders, stoope the head, and somewhat yeeld to the stroke, than beyond possibilitie to make head and resist, and be nothing the better, and give violence occasion to trample all underfoot: and better were it to force the lawes to desire but what they may, since they may not what they would. So did he that ordained them to sleep foure and twentie houres: And he who for a time removed one day from the Calender:

**Two subtle devices** And another who of the moneth of June made a second May. The Lacedemonians themselves, so strict observers of their countries ordinances, being urged by their Lawes, which precisely forbad and inhibited to chuse one man twice to be their Admirall, and on the other side their affaires necessarily requiring, that *Lysander* should once more take that charge upon him, they created one *Aracus* Admirall, but instituted *Lysander* superintendent of all maritime causes. And with the same sotteltie, one of their Ambassadors being sent to the Athenians for to obtaine the change of some ordinance, *Pericles* alleaging, that *it was expresly forbid to remove the table, wherein a law had once beene set downe*, perswaded him but to turne it, for that was not forbidden. It is that whereof *Plutarke* commendeth *Philopæmen*, who being borne to command, could not onely command according to the lawes, but the lawes themselves, whensoever publike necessitie required it.

### CHAP. XXIII

Divers events from one selfe same counsell

*JAMES AMIOT*, great Almoner of *France*, did once tell me this storie, to the honour of one of our Princes, (and so he was indeed by very good tokens, albeit by off-spring he were a stranger) that during our first troubles, at the

siege of *Roane*, the said Prince being advertised by the Queene-mother of a conspiracie and enterprise, that should be attempted against his life, and by letters particularly informed him of the partie that should performe it, who was a gentleman of *Anjow*, or *Manse*, and who to that purpose did ordinarily frequent the said Princes court; he never imparted that secret or communicated that warning to any man, but the next morrow walking upon *Saint Catherins* hill, whence our batterie played against the towne (for it was, at what time we laid siege to *Roane*) with the said Lord great Almoner: and another Bishop by his side, he chanced to descrie the said gentleman, whom the Queene-mother had described unto him, and caused him to be called, who being come before his presence, said thus unto him, perceiving him alreadie to wax pale, and tremble at the alarums of his conscience: *Master, such a one, I am fully perswaded you fore-imagine what I will charge you with, and your countenance doth plainly shew it, you can conceale nothing from me: for I am so well instructed of your businesse, that would you goe about to hide it, you should but marre all, you have perfect knowledge of this and this thing,* (which were the chiefest props and devices of the secretest drifts of his complot and conspiracie) *faile not therefore as you tender your life, to confesse the truth of all your purpose.* When the silly man saw himselfe so surprized and convicted (for the whole matter had beene discovered unto the Queene by one of the complices) he had no other way, but to lift up his

The  
Prince  
and the  
conspirator

**The Prince's clemency** hands, and beg for grace and mercie at the Princes hands, at whose feete he would have prostrated himselfe, but that he would not let him: thus following his discourse; *Come hither my friend*, said he, *Did I ever doe you any displeasure? Have I ever through any particular hatred, wronged or offended any friend of yours? It is not yet three weekes since I knew you, what reason might move you to conspire and enterprise my death?* The Gentleman with a faint trembling voyce, and selfe-accusing looke, answered him, that no particular occasion had ever moved him to that, but the interest of the generall cause of his faction, and that some of them had perswaded him, that to root out, and in what manner soever, to make away so great an enemy of their religion, would be an execution full of pietie, and a worke of supererogation. Then said the Prince, *I will shew you how much the religion which I professe is more milde, than that whereof you make profession: yours hath perswaded you to kill me, without hearing me, having never been offended by me: and mine, commands me to pardon you, convicted as you are, that you would so treacherously and without cause have killed me. Goe your way, withdraw your selfe, let mee never see you here againe, and if you be wise, hence-forward in your enterprises take honester men for your counsellors, than those of your religion.* The Emperour Augustus being in Gaule, received certaine advertisement of a conspiracie, that *L. Cinna* complotted against him, whereof he purposed to be avenged, and for that



purpose sent to all his friends against the next morrow for advice and counsell, but passed the fore-going night with great anxietie and unrest, considering that following his intent, he should bring a yong Gentleman, well borne, of a noble house, and great *Pompeyes* nephew, to his death : which perplexitie produced divers strange discourses and consideration in him. *What?* said he unto himselfe, *Shall it ever be reported, that I doe live in feare, and suffer mine enemy to walke at his pleasure and libertie? Shall he then goe free, that hath attempted and resolved to deprive me of my life, which both by sea and land I have saved from so many civill warres, and from so many battels? And now that I have established an universall peace in the world, shall he be absolved and goe unpunished, that hath not only determined to murther, but to sacrifice me?* (For, the complot of the conspiracie was to murther him, when he should be at sacrifice.) After that, having taken some rest with himselfe, he with a lowder voice began to exclaime and cry out against himselfe, saying, *Why livest thou, if the lives of so many depend on thy death? Shall thy vengeance and cruelties never have an end? Is thy life of that worth, as it may countervaille the sundry mischiefes that are like to ensue, if it be preserved?* *Livia* his wife being in bed with him, perceiving his agonie, and hearing his speeches, said thus unto him: *And may not womens counsels be admitted? Doe as Physitians are wont, who when their ordinarie receipts will not worke, have recourse to the contrarie. Hitherto*

Augustus  
hears of  
Cinna's  
plot

The in-  
terview  
between

*thou couldest never doe any good with severitie : Lepidus hath followed Savidienus, Murena Lepidus, [Scipio] Murena, Egnatius [Scipio] ; begin now to prove what good lenitie and clemencie will doe thee. Cinna is convicted, pardon him : To annoy or hurt thee now, he is not able, and thou shalt thereby increase thy glory. Augustus seemed very glad to have found an Advocate of his humour, and having thanked his wife, and countermanded his friends, whom he had summoned to the Counsell, commanded Cinna to be brought before him alone. Then sending all men out of his chamber, and a chaire prepared for Cinna to sit in, he thus bespake him : First Cinna, I require to have gentle audience, and that thou wilt not interrupt my speech, which ended, I will give thee time and leasure to answer me : Thou knowest (oh Cinna) that when I had taken thee prisoner in mine enemies campe, who wast not only become, but borne my foe ; I saved thee, then put thee in quiet possession of thy goods, and at last, have so enriched thee, and placed thee in so high a degree, that even the conquerours are become envious over the conquered. The Priests office, which thou beggedst at my hands, I freely bestowed on thee, having first refused the same to others, whose fathers and friends had in many battels shed their bloud for me : After all which benefits, and that I had in dutie tied thee so fast unto me, thou hast notwithstanding undertaken to kill me. To whom Cinna replied, crying alowd, That he had never so much as conceived so wicked a thought, much lesse entertained the same. Oh*

Cinna, *this is not according to thy promise, answered then Augustus, which was, that thou wouldst not interrupt me: What I say, is true, thou hast undertaken to murder me, in such a place, on such a day, in such a company, and in such manner: and seeing him so amazed in heart, and by his evidence stricken dumbe, moved thereunto, not by the condition of his promise, but by the guilt of his selfe-accusing conscience; why wouldst thou doe it, replied he, is it because thou wouldst be Emperour? Truly the common-wealth is but in hard condition, if none but my selfe hinder thee from the Empire. Thou canst not so much as defend thine owne house, and didst but lately lose a processe, only by the favor of a seely libertine. What? hast thou no meane or power in any other matter, but to attempt Cæsars life? I quit it, if there be no man but my selfe to impeach thy hopes. Supposest thou that Paulus, that Fabius, that the Cossenians, or the Servillianes will ever permit thee? And so great a troupe of noble men, noble, not only in name, but such as by their vertues honour their nobilitie, will ever suffer it. After many other such like discourses (for he talked with him more than 2. houres) he said unto him; Away, oh Cinna, that life which once I gave thee, as to an enemy, I now give thee againe, as to a traitour, and a patricide: let a true friendship from this day forward begin betweene us, let us strive together, which of us two with a better faith shall out-goe the other, and whether I have given thy life, or thou hast received the same with great confidence: and so left him.*

Augustus  
and Cinna

Human  
wisdom  
but vain

Shortly after he gave him the Consulship, blaming him that he durst not aske it of him. And ever after held him as his deere friend, and made him alone, heire and executor of his goods. Now after this accident, which hapned to *Augustus* in the xl. yeare of his age, there was never any conspiracie or enterprise attempted against him ; and he received a just reward for his so great clemency. But the like succeeded not to our Prince, for his mildnesse and lenitie could not so warrant him, but that afterward he fell into the snares of the like treason : so vaine and frivolous a thing is humane wisdom : and contrary to all projects, devices, counsels, and precautions, fortune doth ever keepe a full sway and possession of all events. We count those Physitians happy and successeful, that successefully end a desperate cure, or come to a good issue : as if there were no other art but theirs, that could not subsist of it selfe, and whose foundations were too feeble to stand and relie upon her owne strength : and as if there were none but it, that stands in need of fortunes helpe-affoording hand, for the effecting of her operations. My conceit of it, is both the worst and the best a man may imagine : for thanks be to God, there is no commerce betweene us : I am contrary to others ; for I ever despise it, and when I am sick, in stead of entring into league or composition with it, I then beginne to hate and feare it most : and answer such as urge mee to take Physicke, that at least they will tarie till such time as I have recovered my

health and strength againe ; that then I may the better be enabled to endure the violence and hazard of their potions. I let nature worke, and presuppose unto my selfe, that she hath provided her selfe, both of teeth and clawes, to defend her self from such assaults as shall beset her, and to maintaine this contexture or frame, whose dissolution it so much hateth. In lieu of bringing helpe unto her, when shee most striveth, and is combated by sicknesse, I greatly feare lest I bring succor unto her adversarie, and surcharge her with new enemies. Now I conclude, that not onely in Physicke, but likewise in sundry more certaine arts, fortune hath great share in them. The Poeticall furies, which ravish and transport their Author beyond himselfe, why shall we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since himselfe confesseth, that they exceed his strength and sufficiencie, and acknowledgeth to proceed from elsewhere, than from himselfe, and that they are not in his power, no more than Orators say to have those strange motions and extraordinary agitations, that in their art transport them beyond their purpose? The like wee see to bee in painting, for sometimes the Painters hand shall draw certaine lines or draughts, so farre exceeding his conception or skill, that himselfe is forced to enter into admiration and amazement. But fortune yet doth much more evidently shew, the share shee hath in all their workes, by the graces and beauties that often are found in them, not onely beyond the intent, but besides the very know-

Nature  
the best  
doctor

**Much is  
due to  
fortune** ledge of the workman. A heedy Reader shall often discover in other mens compositions, perfections farre-differing from the Authors meaning, and such as haply he never dreamed of, and illustrateth them with richer senses, and more excellent constructions. As for military enterprises, no man is so blinde but seeth what share fortune hath in them: even in our counsels and deliberations, some chance or good lucke must needs be joyned to them, for whatsoever our wisdome can effect, is no great matter. The sharper and quicker it is, more weaknesse findes it in it selfe, and so much the more doth it distrust it selfe. I am of *Sillaes* opinion: and when I nearest consider the most glorious exploits of warre, me thinkes I see, that those who have the conduct of them, employ neither counsell nor deliberation about them, but for fashion-sake, and leave the best part of the enterprise to fortune, and on the confidence they have in her ayd, they still go beyond the limits of all discourse. Casuall rejoycings, and strange furies ensue among their deliberations, which for the most induce them to take the counsell least grounded upon apparance or reason, and which quaille their courage beyond reason; whence it hath succeeded unto divers great Captaines, by giving credit to such rash counsels, and alleaging to their souldiers, that by some divine inspiration, and other signes and prognostications, they were encouraged to such and such enterprises. Loe here wherefore in this uncertainty and perplexitie, which the impuissances and inabilitie doth bring

us to see and chuse what is most commodious, for the difficulties which the divers accidents and circumstances of everie thing draw with them: the surest way, if other considerations did not invite us thereto, is, in my conceit, to follow the partie, wherein is most honestie and justice; and since a man doubteth of the nearest way, ever to keepe the right. As in these two examples I have lately mentioned, there is no doubt, but that it was more commendable and generous in him, who had received the offence, to remit and pardon the same, than to have done otherwise. If the first had but ill successe, his good intent is not to be blamed; and no man knoweth, had he taken the contrary way, whether he should have escaped the end, to which his destinie called him; and then had he lost the glorie and commendations of so seld-seene humanitie. Sundry men possessed with this feare, are read-of in ancient Histories; the greatest part of which have followed the way of fore-running the conspiracies, which were complotted against them, by revenge or tortures, but I see very few, that by this remedy have received any good; witnesse so many Romane Emperours. Hee that perceiveth himselfe to bee in this danger, ought not much to relie upon his power, or hope in his vigilancie. For, how hard a matter is it, for a man to warrant and safeguard himselfe from an enemie, that masks under the visage of the most officious and heartie-seeming friend we have? And to know the inward thoughts and minde-concealed meanings

The right  
is ever the  
better  
way

**The courage of Alexander** of such as daily attend, and are continually with us? It will little availe him to have forraine nations to his guard, and ever to be encircled about with troupes of Armed men? whosoever he be that resolveth to con[t]emne his owne life, may at any time become Master of other mens lives.

Moreover that continuall suspicion, which makes the Prince to mistrust every body, should be a wonderfull vexation to his minde. And therefore when *Dion* was advertised that *Calippus* watched to kill him, could never finde in his heart to informe himselfe of it: affirming; *He had rather die once, than ever live in feare and miserie, and to guard himselfe not onely from his enemies, but from his very friends.* Which thing *Alexander* presented more lively and undantedly by effect, who by a letter of *Parmenio* having received advertisement, that *Philip* his neerest and best regarded Physitian, had with money beene suborned and corrupted by *Darius*, to poison him, who at the very instant that he gave *Philip* the letter to reade, swallowed downe a potion he had given him: was it not to expresse his resolution, that if his friends would kill him, he would not shun them, but consent to their treachery? This Prince is the Sovereigne patterne of hazardous attempts: yet know I not whether in all his life, he shewed an act of more resolute constancie, than this, nor an ornament so many wayes famous. Those which daily preach and buzze in Princes eares, under colour of their safetie, a heedy diffidence and



ever-warie distrustfulnesse, doe nought but tell them of their ruine, and further their shame and downefall. No noble act is atchieved without danger. I know one by his owne complexion of a right martial courage, and ready for any resolution, whose good and hopefull fortune is dayly corrupted by such verball perswasions; as first to keepe close with his friends; never to listen to any reconciliation with his old enemies: to stand upon his owne guard; never to commit himselfe to any stronger than himselfe, what faire promise soever they make him, or whatsoever apparant profit they seeme to containe. I also know another, who because he did ever follow the contrarie counsell, and would never listen to such schoole-reasons, hath beyond all hope raised his fortune above the common reach. That boldnesse wherewith they so greedily gape after glory, is alwayes at hand, when ever need shall be, as gloriously in a doublet as in an armour; in a cabinet as in a campe; the arme held downe, as lifted up. A wisdom so tenderly precise, and so precisely circumspect, is a mortall enemy to haughty executions. *Scipio*, to sound the depth of *Siphax* intent, and to discover his minde; leaving his armie, and abandoning the yet unsetled country of *Spaine*, which under his new conquest of it, was likely to be suspected, he I say, could passe into *Affrike* onely with two simple ships or small barkes, to commit himselfe in a strange and foe countrie, to engage his person, under the power of a barbarous King, under an unknowne

No noble  
act  
without  
danger

**Fear entices danger** faith, without either hostage, or letters of credence, yea without any body, but onely upon the assurance of the greatnesse of his courage, of his succesfull good fortune, and of the promise of his high-raised hopes. *Habita fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat.* Most commonly trusting obligeth trustinesse. To an ambitious and fame-aspiring minde, contrariwise, a man must yeeld little, and cary a hard hand against suspicions: Feare and distrust draw on offences and allure them. The most mistrustfull of our Kings established his affaires, and setled his estate, especially because he had voluntarily given over, abandoned and committed his life and libertie, to the hands and mercy of his enemies: Seeming to put his whole confidence in them, that so they might likewise conceive an undoubted affiance in him. *Cæsar* did onely confront his mutinous legions, and oppose his hardly-ruled Armies, with the minde-quelling authoritie of his countenance, and awe-moving fiercenesse of his words: and did so much trust himselfe and his fortune, that he no whit feared to abandon and commit himselfe to a seditious and rebellious Armie.

—*stetit aggere fulti*

*Cæspitis, intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri*  
*Nil metuens.*—LUCAN. v. 296.

He on a rampart stood of turfe uprear'd,  
 Fearelesse, and fearing none was to be fear'd.

True it is, that this undaunted assurance cannot so fully and lively be represented, but

by those in whom the imagination or apprehension of death, and of the worst that may happen, can strike no amazement at all: for, to represent it fearefully-trembling, doubtfull and uncertaine, for the service of an important reconciliation, is to effect no great matter: It is an excellent motive to gaine the heart and good will of others, for a man to go and submit himselfe to them, provided it be done freely, and without constraint of any necessitie, and in such sort, that a man bring a pure and unspotted confidence with him, and at least his countenance void of all scruple. Being yet a childe, I saw a gentleman, who had the command of a great Citie, and by a commotion of a seditiously furious people greatly put to his plunges, who to suppress the rising fire of this tumult, resolved to sally out from a strongly assured place, where he was safe, and yeeld himselfe to that many-headed monster mutinous rowt; thrived so ill by it, that he was miserably slaine amongst them: yet deeme I not his oversight to have beene so great in issuing out, his memorie being of most men condemned, as because he tooke a way of submission, and remissenesse, and attempted to extinguish that rage and hurly-burly, rather by way of following, than of guiding, and by requiring sute, than by demonstrative resolution: and I deeme, a gratuitously milde severitie, with a militarie commandement, full of confidence and securitie, beseeeming his ranke, and the dignitie of his charge, had better availed him, had beene more succesfull,

Bad  
effect of  
humility

Passions of the crowd at least with more honour, and well seeming comliness. There is nothing lesse to bee expected or hoped for at the hands of this monstrous faced multitude, thus agitated by furie, than humanitie and gentlenesse; it will much sooner receive reverence, and admit feare. I might also blame him, that having undertaken a resolution (in my judgement, rather brave than rash) to cast himselfe inconsiderately, weake and unarmed, amidst a tempestuous Ocean of senselesse and mad men, he should have gone through stitch with it, and not leave the person he represented in the briers, whereas after he had perceived the danger at hand, he chanced to bleed at the nose; and then to change that demisse and flattering countenance he had undertaken, into a dismaid and drooping looke, filling both voice and eyes with astonishment and repentance: and seeking to squat himselfe, hee the more enflamed, and called them upon him. It was determined, there should be a generall muster made of divers troupes of armed men (a place fittest for secret revenges, and where they may safest be achieved) there were most apparant reasons, that the place was very unsure, or at least, to be suspected, by such as were to have the principall and necessary charge to survey them. Divers counsels were proposed, sundry opinions heard, as in a subject of great difficultie, and on which depended so many weightie consequences. My advice was, they should carefully avoid to give any testimonie of suspition, or shew of doubt,

and that our troupes should be as full as might be, and the Fyles orderly ranked, and every Souldier shew an undaunted carriage, and undismayed countenance, and in stead of keeping some of our forces backe (which thing most opinions aimed at) all Captaines should be put in minde to admonish their Souldiers to make their sallies as orderly and as strong as might be, in honour of the assistance; and spare no powder, which would serve as a gratification toward these suspectfull troupes, which afterward caused a mutuall and profitable confidence. I finde the course that *Julius Cæsar* held to be the best a man may take: First he assayed by clemencie to purchase the love of his very enemies, contenting himselfe in the conspiracies that were discovered unto him, simply to shew they were not unknownen to him, but had perfect notice of them. That done, he tooke a most noble resolution, which was, without dread or dismay, or any care-taking, to attend whatsoever might betide him, wholly abandoning and remitting himselfe into the hands of the Gods and of fortune. For certainly, it is the state wherein he was, when he was murdered in the Senate. A stranger having published every where, that he could teach *Dionysius* the tyrant of *Siracusa* a way to understand and discover the very certaintie of all the practices, his subjects or any else should practise against him, if he would bestow a good summe of money upon him: *Dionysius* being therof advertised, sent for him, to discover the secret and understand

Resolu-  
tion of  
Julius  
Cæsar

The purchase of  
Dionysius

the truth of so necessarie an art for his preservation : the stranger told him, there was no other skill in his art, but that he should deliver him a talent, and then boast hee had learned the use of so unvaluable a secret of him. *Dionysius* allowed of his invention, and forthwith caused six hundred crownes to be delivered him. It is not likely that ever he would have given so great a summe of mony to an unknowne man, but in reward of a most profitable instruction ; for by way of this reputation he kept his enemies still in awe. And therefore doe Princes wisely publish such advertisements as they receive of the plots conspired, and treasons practised against their lives and states, thereby to make men beleewe, that nothing can be attempted against them, but they shall have knowledge of it. The Duke of *Athens* committed many fond oversights in the establishing of his late tyrannie upon the Florentines, but this the chiefest, that having received the first advertisement of the Monopolies and Complots the Florentines contrived against him, by *Mathew*, surnamed *Moro*, one of the complices, thinking to suppress this warning, and conceale that any in the Citie were offended at him, or grudged at his rule, caused him immediately to be put to death. I remember to have heretofore read the storie of a Romane (a man of speciall dignitie) who flying the tyrannie of the *Triumvirate*, had many times by the sotteltie of his invention, escaped those who pursued him. It fortun'd upon a day,

that a troupe of horse-men, who had the charge to apprehend him, passing alongst a hedge, under which he lay lurking, had well-nigh discovered him; which he perceiving, and considering the dangers and difficulties he had so long endured, thinking to save himselfe from the continuall and daily searches that every where were made after him, and calling to minde the small pleasure he might hope of such a life, and how much better it were for him to die once, than live in such continuall feare and agonie, himselfe called them, and voluntarily discovered his lurking hole, and that he might rid them and himselfe from further pursuit and care, did willingly yeeld unto their crueltie. For a man to call his enemies to aid him, is a counsell somewhat rash, yet thinke I, it were better to embrace it, than remaine still in the continuall fit of such a fever that hath no remedie. But since the provisions of man may apply unto it, are full of unquietnesse and uncertaintie, much better is it with a full assurance to prepare himselfe patiently to endure whatsoever may happen, and draw some comfort from that, which a man is never sure shall come to passe.

Patiently  
endure all  
things

## CHAP. XXIV

## Of Pedantisme

Pedants  
held in ill-  
favour

I HAVE in my youth oftentimes beene vexed, to see a Pedant brought in, in most of Italian comedies, for a vice or sport-maker, and the nicke-name of *Magister* to be of no better signification amongst us. For, my selfe being committed to their tuition, how could I chuse but be somewhat jealous of their reputation? In deed I sought to excuse them by reason of the naturall disproportion that is betweene the vulgar sort, and rare and excellent men, both in judgement and knowledge: forsomuch as they take a cleane contrarie course one from another. But when I considered, the choysest men were they, that most contemned them, I was far to seeke, and as it were lost my selfe, witnesse our good *Bellay*:

*Mais je hay par sur tout un scavoir pedantesque.*

—BELLAY.

A pedant knowledge, I  
Detest out of all cry.

Yet is this custome very ancient; for *Plutarch* saith, that *Greeke and Scholer, were amongst the Romans, words of reproach and imputation.* And comming afterwards to yeares of more discretion, I have found they had great reason, and that *magis magnos clericos, non sunt magis*



*magnos sapientes : The most great Clerkes are not the most wisest men.* But whence it may proceed, that a minde rich in knowledge, and of so many things, becommeth thereby never livelier nor more quicke-sighted ; and a grose-headed and vulgar spirit may without amendment containe the discourse and judgement of the most excellent wits the world ever produced, I still remaine doubtfull. To receive so many, so strange, yea and so great wits, it must needs follow (said once a Lady unto me, yea one of our chiefeest Princesses, speaking of some body) *that a mans owne wit, force, droope, and as it were diminish it selfe, to make roome for others.* I might say, that as plants are choked by over-much moisture, and lamps dammed with too much oyle, so are the actions of the mind over-whelmed by over-abundance of matter and studie : which occupied and intangled with so great a diversitie of things, loseth the meane to spread and cleare it selfe ; and that surcharge keepeth it low-drooping and faint. But it is otherwise, for our mind stretcheth the more by how much more it is replenished. And in examples of former times, the contrary is seene, of sufficient men in the managing of publike affaires, of great Captaines, and notable Counsellers in matters of estate, to have been therewithall excellently wise. And concerning Philosophers, retired from all publike negotiations, they have indeed sometimes been vilified, by the comike libertie of their times, their opinions and demeanors yeelding them ridicu-

Over-  
study  
clogs the  
mind

The disdain of Philosophers. Will you make them Judges of the right of a processe, or of the actions of a man? They are readie for it. They enquire whether there be any life yet remaining, whether any motion. Whether man be any thing but an Oxe, what working or suffering is; what strange beasts law and justice are. Speake they of the Magistrate, or speake they unto him; they do it with an unreverent and uncivill libertie. Heare they a Prince or a King commended? Hee is but a shepherd to them, as idle as a Swaine busied about milking of his cattell, or shearing of his sheepe: but yet more rudely. Esteeme you any man the greater for possessing two hundred acres of land? They scoffe at him, as men accustomed to embrace all the world, as their possession. Do you boast of your Nobilitie, because you can blazon your descent of seven or eight rich Grandfathers? They will but little regard you, as men that conceive not the universall image of nature, and how many predecessors every one of us hath had, both rich and poore, Kings and groomes, Greekes and Barbarians. And were you lineally descended in the fiftieth degree from *Hercules*, they deeme it a vanitie to vaunt or alleage this gift of fortune. So did the vulgar sort disdaine them as ignorant of the first and common things, and as presumptuous and insolent. But this Platonicall lustre is far from that which our men stand in need of. They were envied as being beyond the common sort, as despising publike actions,

as having proposed unto themselves a particular and inimitable life, aiming and directed at certaine high discourses, and from the common use: these are disdained as men beyond the ordinary fashion, as incapable of publike charges, as leading an unsociable life, and professing base and abject customes, after the vulgar kind. *Odi homines ignavos opera, Philosophos sententia* (PACUVIUS, *Lips.* i. 10). *I hate men that are fooles in working, and Philosophers in speaking.* As for those Philosophers, I say, that as they were great in knowledge, so were they greater in all action. And even as they report of that *Syracusan* Geometrician, who being taken from his bookish contemplation, to shew some practice of his skill, for the defence of his countrie, reared sodainly certaine terror-moving engines, and shewed effects farre exceeding all mens conceit, himselfe notwithstanding disdaining all this his handie-worke, supposing he had thereby corrupted the dignitie of his art; his engines and manuell works being but the apprenticeships, and trials of his skill in sport: So they, if at any time they have been put to the triall of any action, they have been seen to flie so high a pitch, and with so loftie a flight, that men might apparantly see their minds and spirits were through the intelligence of things, become wonderfully rich and great. But some perceiving the seat of politike government possessed by unworthy and incapable men, have withdrawne themselves from it. And hee who demanded

The work  
of Archi-  
medes

**Vanity of  
royalty** of *Crates*, how long men should Philosophize, received this answer, Untill such time as they who have the conduct of our Armies be no longer blockish asses. *Heraclitus* resigned the royaltie unto his brother. And to the Ephesians, who reproved him for spending his time in playing with children before the temple: hee answered, And is it not better to doe so, than to governe the publike affaires in your companie? Others having their imagination placed beyond fortune and the world, found the seat of justice, and the thrones of Kings, to be but base and vile. And *Empedocles* refused the royaltie, which the *Agrigentines* offered him. *Thales* sometimes accusing the carke and care men tooke about good husbandry, and how to grow rich; some replied unto him, that he did as the Fox, because he could not attaine unto it himselfe: which hearing, by way of sport he would needs shew by experience how he could at his pleasure become both thriftie and rich; and bending his wits to gaine and profit, erected a traffike, which within one yeare brought him such riches, as the skilfullest in the trade of thriving, could hardly in all their life devise how to get the like. That which *Aristotle* reporteth of some, who called both him, and *Anaxagoras*, and such like men, wise, and not prudent, because they cared not for things more profitable: besides, I doe not verie well digest this nice difference of words, that serveth my find-fault people for no excuse: and to see the base and needie fortune, wherewith they are content, we

might rather have just cause to pronounce them, **Vanity of learning** neither wise nor prudent. I quit this first reason, and thinke it better to say, that this evill proceedeth from the bad course they take to follow sciences; and that respecting the manner we are instructed in them, it is no wonder if neither Schollers nor Masters, howbeit they prove more learned, become no whit more sufficient. Verily the daily care, and continuall charges of our fathers, aymeth at nothing so much, as to store our heads with knowledge and learning; as for judgement and vertue, that is never spoken of. If a man passe by, crie out to our people; *Oh what a wise man goeth yonder!* And of another: *Oh what a good man is yonder!* He will not faile to cast his eyes and respect toward the former. A third crier were needfull, to say, *Oh what blocke-heads are those!* We are ever readie to aske, *Hath he any skill in the Greeke and Latine tongue? can he write well? doth hee write in prose or verse?* But whether hee be growne better or wiser, which should be the chiefest of his drift, that is never spoken of, we should rather enquire who is better wise, than who is more wise. We labour, and toyle, and plod to fill the memorie, and leave both understanding and conscience emptie. Even as birds flutter and skip from field to field to pecke up corne, or any graine, and without tasting the same, carrie it in their bils, therewith to feed their little ones; so doe our pedants gleane and picke learning from bookes, and never lodge it further than their lips, only to degorge and cast it to the

Mon- wind. It is strange how fitly sottishnesse takes  
 taigne's hold of mine example. Is not that which I  
 quotations doe in the greatest part of this composition, all  
 one and selfe same thing? I am ever heere and  
 there picking and culling, from this and that  
 booke, the sentences that please me, not to keepe  
 them (for I have no store-house to reserve them  
 in) but to transport them into this: where, to  
 say truth, they are no more mine, than in their  
 first place: we are (in mine opinion) never wise,  
 but by present learning, not by that which is past,  
 and as little by that which is to come. But  
 which is worse, their Schollers, and their little  
 ones are never a whit the more fed or better  
 nourished: but passeth from hand to hand, to  
 this end only, thereby to make a glorious shew,  
 therewith to entertaine others, and with it's helpe  
 to frame some quaint stories, or prettie tales, as  
 of a light and counterfeit coyne, unprofitable for  
 any use or imployment, but to reckon and cast  
 accompts. *Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi  
 secum. Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum* (SEN.  
*Epist. cviii.*). *They have learned to speake with  
 others, not with themselves: speaking is not so  
 requisite as government.* Nature, to shew that  
 nothing is savage in whatsoever she produceth,  
 causeth oftentimes, even in rudest and most un-  
 arted nations, productions of spirits to arise, that  
 confront and wrestle with the most artist pro-  
 ductions. As concerning my discourse, is not  
 the Gaskonie proverbe, drawne from a bag-pipe,  
 prettie and quaint? *Bouha prou bouha, mas à  
 remuda lous dits quèm.* *You may blow long enough,*

but if once you stirre your fingers, you may go seeke. **Vicarious learning**  
 Wee can talke and prate, *Cicero* saith thus, These are *Platoes* customes, These are the verie words of *Aristotle*; but what say we our selves? what doe we? what judge we? A *Peroquet* would say as much. This fashion puts me in mind of that rich *Romane*, who to his exceeding great charge had beene verie industrious to finde out the most sufficient men in all sciences, which he continually kept about him, that if at any time occasion should bee moved amongst his friends to speake of any matter pertaining to Schollership, they might supplie his place, and be readie to assist him: some with discourse, some with a verse of *Homer*, othersome with a sentence, each one according to his skill or profession; who perswaded himselfe that all such learning was his owne, because it was contained in his servants minds. As they doe whose sufficiencie is placed in their sumptuous libraries. I know some, whom if I aske what he knoweth, hee will require a booke to demonstrate the same, and durst not dare to tell me that his posteriors are scabious, except he turne over his *Lexicon* to see what posteriors and scabious is, wee take the opinions and knowledge of others into our protection, and that is all: I tell you they must be enfeoffed in us, and made our owne. Wee may verie well be compared unto him, who having need of fire, should goe fetch some at his neighbours chimney, where finding a good fire, should there stay to warme himselfe, forgetting to carrie some home, what avales it us

Never to have our bellies full of meat, if it be not  
 wise save digested? If it bee not transchanged in us?  
 by our except it nourish, augment, and strengthen us?  
 own wisdom May we imagine that *Lucullus*, whom learning  
 made and framed so great a Captaine without  
 experience, would have taken it after our manner?  
 We relie so much upon other mens armes, that  
 we disanull our owne strength. Will I arme  
 my selfe against the feare of death? it is at  
*Senecaes* cost: will I draw comfort either for  
 my selfe, or any other? I borrow the same of  
*Cicero*. I would have taken-it in my selfe, had  
 I been exercised unto it: I love not this relative  
 and begd-for sufficiencie. Suppose we may be  
 learned by other mens learning. Sure I am, we  
 can never be wise, but by our owne wisdom.

Μισῶ σοφιστήν, ὅστις οὐχ αὐτῷ σοφός.

—*Proverb. Iamb.*

That wise man I cannot abide,  
 That for himself cannot provide.

*Ex quo Ennius: Nequidquam sapere sapientem,  
 qui ipsi sibi prodesse non quiret (ENNIUS). Where-  
 upon saith Ennius: That wise man is vainly wise,  
 who could not profit himselfe.*

—*si cupidus, si*

*Vanus, et Euganeâ quantumvis vilior agnâ.*

—*JUVENAL. Sat. viii. 14.*

If covetous, if vaine (not wise)  
 Than any lambe more base, more nice.

*Non enim paranda nobis solum, sed fruenda  
 sapientia est (Cic. Finib. i. p.). For, wee must*



*not only purchase wisdom, but enjoy and employ the same.* *Dionysius* scoffeth at those Gramarians, who ploddingly labour to know the miseries of *Ulysses*, and are ignorant of their owne; mocketh those Musicians, that so attentively tune their instruments, and never accord their manners; derideth those Orators, that studie to speake of justice, and never put it in execution. Except our mind be the better, unlesse our judgement be the sounder, I had rather my scholler had imployed his time in playing at Tennis; I am sure his bodie would be the nimbler. See but one of these our universitie men or bookish schollers returne from schole, after he hath there spent ten or twelve yeares under a Pedants charge: who is so unapt for any matter? who so unfit for any companie? who so to seeke if he come into the world? all the advantage you discover in him, is, that his Latine and Greeke have made him more sottish, more stupid, and more presumptuous, then before he went from home. Whereas he should returne with a mind full-fraught, he returnes with a wind-puff conceit: in stead of plum-feeding the same, he hath only spunged it up with vanitie. These Masters, as *Plato* speaketh of Sophisters (their cosin Germanes) of all men, are those that promise to be most profitable unto men, and alone, amongst all, that not only amend not what is committed to their charge, as doth a carpenter or a mason, but empaire and destroy the same, and yet they must full dearely be paid. If the law which *Protagoras* proposed to his disciples, were followed,

Savoir  
 vivre and  
 pedantry

Letter-  
stricken  
men

which was, that either they should pay him according to his word, or sweare in the temple, how much they esteemed the profit they had received by his discipline, and accordingly satisfie him for his paines, my Pedagogues would be aground, especially if they would stand to the oath of my experience. My vulgar Perigordinspeech doth verie pleasantly terme such self-conceited wisards, Letter-ferits, as if they would say letter-strucken men, to whom (as the common saying is) letters have given a blow with a mallet. Verily for the most part they seeme to be distracted even from common sense. Note but the plaine husbandman, or the unwillie shoemaker, and you see them simply and naturally plod on their course, speaking only of what they know, and no further; whereas these letter-puft pedants, because they would faine raise themselves aloft, and with their literall doctrine which floteth up and downe the superficies of their braine, arme themselves beyond other men, they uncessantly intricate and entangle themselves: they utter loftie words, and speake golden sentences, but so that another man doth place, fit, and applie them. They are acquainted with *Galen*, but know not the disease. They will stuffe your head with lawes, when God wot they have not yet conceived the ground of the case. They know the Theorike of all things, but you must seeke who shall put it in practice. I have seene a friend of mine, in mine owne house, who by way of sport talking with one of these pedanticall gulls, counterfeited a kind of fustian tongue,

and spake a certain gibbrish, without rime or reason, sans head or foot, a hotch-pot of divers things, but that he did often enterlace it with inke-pot termes, incident to their disputations, to amuse the bookish sot for a whole day long with debating and contending; ever thinking he answered the Objections made unto him; yet was he a man of letters and reputation, a graduate, and wore a goodly formall long gowne.

Character  
of ped-  
ants

*Vos ô patritius sanguis quos vivere par est  
Occipiti cæco, posticæ occurrere sannæ.*

—PERS. Sat. i. 61.

You noble blouds, who with a noddle blind,  
Should live, meet with the mocke that's made  
behind.

Whosoever shall narrowly looke into this kind of people, which far and wide hath spread it selfe, he shall find (as I have done,) that for the most part, they neither understand themselves, nor others, and that their memorie is many times sufficiently full fraught, but their judgement ever hollow and emptie: except their natural inclination have of it selfe otherwise fashioned them. As I have seene *Adrianus Turnebus*, who having never professed any thing but studie and letters, wherein he was, in mine opinion, the worthiest man that lived these thousand yeares, and who notwithstanding had no Pedanticall thing about him, but the wearing of his gowne, and some externall fashions, that could not well be reduced, and incivilized to the courtiers cut; things of no consequence. And I naturally hate our people,

The wise and scholarly Turnebus that will more hardly endure a long robe uncuriously worne, than a crosse skittish mind: and that observe what leg, or reverence he makes, note his garbe or demeanor, view his boots, or his hat, and marke what manner of man he is. For his inward parts, I deeme him to have been one of the most unspotted and truly honest minds that ever was. I have sundry times of purpose urged him to speak of matters furthest from his study, wherein he was so cleare-sighted, and could with so quicke an apprehension conceive, and with so sound a judgement distinguish them, that he seemed never to have professed or studied other facultie than warre, and matters of state. Such spirits, such natures may be termed worthy, goodly, and solid.

—*queis arte benigna*

*Et meliore luto finxit præcordia Titan.*

—JUVEN. *Sat.* xiv. 34.

Whose bowels heavens-bright-Sunne composed  
Of better mold, art wel disposed.

That maintaine themselves against any bad institution. Now it sufficeth not that our institution marre us not, it must change us to the better. There are some of our Parliaments and Courts, who when they are to admit of any officers, doe only examine them of their learning; others, that by presenting them the judgement of some law cases, endeavour to sound their understanding. Me thinks the latter keep the better stile: And albeit these two parts are necessarie, and both ought to concur in one, yet truly should

that of learning be lesse prized than judgement, this may well be without the other, and not the other without this. For as the Greeke verse saith.

Learning  
valueless  
without  
under-  
standing

Ὡς οὐδὲν ἡ μάθησις, ἣν μὴ νοῦς παρῇ.

—Gnom. Græc. χ. et φ. ult.

Learning nought worth doth lie,  
Be not discretion by.

Whereto serveth learning, if understanding be not joyned to it? Oh would to God, that for the good of our justice, the societies of Lawyers were as wel stored with judgement, discretion, and conscience, as they are with learning and wit. *Non vitæ, sed scholæ discimus* (SEN. *Epist.* cvi. f.). *We learne not for our life, but for the schoole.* It is not enough to joyne learning and knowledge to the minde, it should be incorporated unto it: it must not be sprinckled, but dyed with it; and if it change not and better her estate (which is imperfect) it were much better to leave it. It is a dangerous Sword, and which hindreth and offendeth her master, if it be in a weake hand, and which hath not the skill to manage the same: *Ut fuerit melius non didicisse: So as it were better that we had not learned.* It is peradventure the cause, that neither we, nor divinitie require not much learning in women; and that *Francis* Duke of *Britannie*, sonne to *John* the fifth, when he was spoken unto for a marriage betweene him and *Isabel* a daughter of *Scotland*; and some told him she was but meanly brought up, and without any instruction of learning, answered, hee loved her

**Goodness  
the only  
necessary  
science**

the better for it, and that a woman was wise enough, if she could but make a difference between the shirt and dublet of her husbands. It is also no such wonder (as some say) that our auncesters did never make any great accompt of Letters, and that even at this day (except it be by chaunce) they are not often found in our Kings or Princes chiefest counceles and consultations: And if the end to grow rich by them, which now adaies is altogether proposed unto us by the studie of Law, of Phisicke, of Pedantisme, and of Divinitie; did not keep them in credit, without doubt you should see them as beggarly and needy, and as much vilified as ever they were. And what hurt I pray you, since they neither teach us to think well, nor doe well? *Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desunt* (SEN. *Epist.* xcv.). *Since men became learned, good men failed.* Each other science is prejudiciall unto him, that hath not the science of goodnesse. But may not the reason I whilom sought for, also proceed thence? That our studie in France, having as it were no other aime but profit, but those lesse whom nature hath produced to more generous offices, than lucrative, giving themselves unto learning, or so briefly (before they have apprehended any liking of them, retired unto a profession that hath no communitie with bookes) there are then none left, altogether to engage themselves to studie and Bookes, but the meaner kind of people, and such as are borne to base fortune, and who by learning and letters seek some meane to live, and enrich themselves. The minds of which people being

both by naturall inclination, by example, and familiar institution, of the basest stampe, doe falsly reap the fruit of learning. For it is not in her power to give light unto the mind, that hath none, nor to make a blind man to see. The mysterie of it is not to affoord him sight, but to direct it for him, to addresse his goings, alwaies provided he have feet of his owne, and good, strait, and capable legs. Knowledge is an excellent drug, but no drug is sufficiently strong to preserve it selfe without alteration or corruption, according to the fault of the vessell, that contains it. Some man hath a cleare sight, that is not right-sighted; and by consequence seeth what good is, and doth not follow it; and [seeth] knowledge, but makes no use of it. The chiefest ordinance of *Plato* in his common wealth is, to give unto his Citizens their charge, according to their nature. Nature can doe all, and doth all. The crookt backt, or deformed, are unfit for any exercise of the bodie, and crooked and misshapen minds unproper for exercises of the minde. The bastard and vulgar sort are unworthy of Philosophie. When we see a man ill shod, if he chance to be a Shoemaker, wee say it is no wonder, for commonly none goes worse shod than they. Even so it seemes, that experience doth often shew us, a Physitian lesse healthy, a Divine lesse reformed, and most commonly a Wiseman lesse sufficient than another. *Aristo Chius* had heretofore reason to say, that Philosophers did much hurt to their auditors, forasmuch as the greatest number of minds are not apt

**Man's  
work  
should be  
according  
to his  
nature**

**An ideal education** to profit by such instructions, which, if they take not a good, they will follow a bad course: *ἀσώτους ex Aristippi, acerbos ex Zenonis scholae exire* (Cic. Nat. Deor. iii.). *They proceed licentious out of the Schoole of Aristippus, but bitter out of the Schoole of Zeno.* In that excellent institution which *Zenophon* giveth the Persians, wee find, that as other Nations teach their children Letters, so they taught theirs vertue. *Plato* said the eldest borne sonne, in their royall succession, was thus taught. ‘As soone as he was borne, he was delivered, not to women, but to such Eunuchs, as by reason of their vertue were in chieftest authoritie about the King. Their speciall charge was first to shapen his limmes and bodie, goodly and healthy; and at seven yeares of age, they instructed and inured him to sit on horsebacke, and to ride a hunting: when he came to the age of fourteene, they delivered him into the hands of foure men, that is to say, the wisest, the justest, the most temperate, and the most valiant of all the nation. The first taught him religion; the second, to be ever upright and true; the third, to become Master of his owne desires; and the fourth, to feare nothing.’ It is a thing worthy great consideration, that in that excellent, and as I may terme it, matchlesse policie of *Lycurgus*, and in truth, by reason of her perfection, monstrous, yet notwithstanding, so carefull for the education of children, as of her principall charge, and even in the Muses bosome and resting-place, there is so little mention made of learning: as if that



generous youth disdaining all other yokes but of vertue, ought only be furnished, in lieu of tutors of learning, with masters of valour, of justice, of wisdom, and of temperance. An example which *Plato* hath imitated in his *Lawes*. The manner of their discipline was, to propound questions unto them, teaching the judgement of men and of their actions: and if by way of reason or discourse, they condemned or praised, either this man, or that deed, they must be told the truth and best: by which meanes at once they sharpened their wits, and learned the right. *Astages* in *Zenophon* calleth *Cyrus* to an accompt of his last lesson: It is (saith he) that a great lad in our Schoole, having a little coat, gave it to one of his fellowes, that was of lesser stature than himselfe, and tooke his coat from him, which was too big for him: our Master having made me judge of that difference, I judged that things must be left in the state they were in, and that both seemed to be better fitted as they were; whereupon he shewed me, I had done ill; because I had [not] only considered the comelinesse where I should chiefly have respected justice, which required, that none should be forced in any thing which properly belonged to him, and said, he was whipt for it, as we are in our countie-townes, when we have forgotten the first preterperfect tense or *Aoriste* of *ῥῆνω*. My Regent might long enough make me a prolix and cunning Oration in *genere demonstrativo*, in the oratorie kind of praise or dispraise, before ever hee should perswade me his Schoole is

Training  
by ques-  
tions

**Greek** worth that. They have gone about to make the  
**ideals of** way shorter: and since Sciences (even when  
**education** they are right taken) can teach us nothing but  
 wisdom, honestie, integritie, and resolution;  
 they have at first sight, attempted to put their  
 children to the proper of effects, and instruct  
 them, not by heare-say, but by assay of action,  
 lively modelling and framing them, not only by  
 precepts and words, but principally by examples  
 and works, that it might not be a Science in their  
 mind, but rather his complexion and habitude;  
 not to purchase, but a naturall inheritance.

To this purpose when *Agesilaus* was demanded,  
 what his opinion was, children should learne ·  
 answered, *What they should doe being men.* It is  
 no marvell, if such an institution have produced  
 so admirable effects. Some say, that in other  
 Cities of Greece they went to seeke for Rhetoricians,  
 for Painters, and for Musicians; whereas  
 in *Lacedemon*, they sought for Law-givers, for  
 Magistrates, and Generals of armies: In *Athens*  
 men learn'd to say well, but here, to doe well:  
 there to resolve a sophisticall argument, and to  
 confound the imposture and amphibologie of  
 words, captiously enterlaced together; here to  
 shake off the allurements of voluptuousnesse,  
 and with an undanted courage to contemne the  
 threats of fortune, and reject the menaces of  
 death: those busied and laboured themselves  
 about idle words, these after martiall things:  
 there the tongue was ever in continuall exercise  
 of speaking, here the minde in an uncessant  
 practice of well-doing. And therefore was it

not strange, if *Antipater* requiring fiftie of their children for hostages, they answered cleane contrarie to that we would doe, *that they would rather deliver him twice so many men*; so much did they value and esteeme the losse of their countries education. When *Agesilaus* inviteth *Xenophon* to send his children to *Sparta*, there to be brought up; it is not, because they should learne Rhetorike, or Logike, but, as himselfe saith, *to the end they may learne the worthiest and best science that may bee, to wit, the knowledge how to obey, and the skill how to command*. It is a sport to see *Socrates*, after his blunt manner, to mocke *Hippias*, who reporteth unto him, what great summes of money he had gained, especially in certaine little Cities, and small townes of *Sicily*, by keeping schoole, and teaching letters, and that at *Sparta* he could not get a shilling. That they were but Idiots and foolish people, who can neither measure nor esteeme; nor make no accompt of Grammer, or of Rythmes; and who only amuse themselves to know the succession of Kings, the establishing and declination of estates, and such like trash of flim-flam tales. Which done, *Socrates* forcing him particularly to allow the excellencie of their forme of publike government, the happinesse and vertue of their private life, remits unto him to guesse the conclusion of the unprofitableness of his arts. Examples teach us both in this martiall policie, and in all such like, that the studie of sciences doth more weaken and effeminate mens minds, than corroborate and adapt them to warre. The

How to  
obey and  
how to  
command

**Rome** mightiest, yea the best settled estate, that is now  
**most** in the world, is that of the Turkes, a nation  
**valiant** equally instructed to the esteeme of armes, and  
**when** disesteeme of letters. I find *Rome* to have  
**least** beene most valiant, when it was least learned.  
**learned** The most warlike nations of our daies, are the  
rudest and most ignorant. The Scithians, the  
Parthians, and *Tamburlane*, serve to verifie my  
saying. When the Gothes over-ran and ravaged  
*Greece* ; that which saved all their Libraries from  
the fire, was, that one among them, scattered this  
opinion, that such trash of bookes and papers  
must be left untoucht and whole for their enemies,  
as the only meane, and proper instrument to divert  
them from all militarie exercises, and amuse  
them to idle, secure, and sedentarie occupations.  
When our King *Charles* the eight, in a manner  
without unsheathing his sword, saw himselfe  
absolute Lord of the whole Kingdome of *Naples*,  
and of a great part of *Thuscanie*, the Princes and  
Lords of his traine ascribed this sodaine, and  
unhoped for victorie, and facilitie of so noble  
and prodigious a conquest, only to this, that most  
of the Princes and nobilitie of *Italie* amused  
themselves rather to become ingenious and wise  
by learning, than vigorous and warriors by mili-  
tarie exercises.

## CHAP. XXV

Of the institution and education of Children ; to  
the Ladie Diana of Foix, Countesse of Gurson

I NEVER knew father, how crooked and deformed soever his sonne were, that would either altogether cast him off, or not acknowledge him for his owne : and yet (unlesse he be meerely besotted or blinded in his affection) it may not be said, but he plainly perceiveth his defects, and hath a feeling of his imperfections. But so it is, he is his owne. So is it in my selfe. I see better than any man else, that what I have set downe, is nought but the fond imaginations of him, who in his youth hath tasted nothing but the paring, and seen but the superficialities of true learning : whereof he hath retained but a generall and shapelesse forme : a smacke of every thing in generall, but nothing to the purpose in particular : After the French manner. To be short, I know there is an art of Phisicke ; a course of lawes ; foure parts of the Mathematices ; and I am not altogether ignorant, what they tend unto. And perhaps I also know the scope and drift of Sciences in generall, to be for the service of our life. But to wade further, or that ever I tired my selfe with plodding upon *Aristotle* (the Monarch of our moderne doctrine) or obstinately continued in the search of any one science : I confesse I never did it. Nor is there any one art, whereof I am able so much as to

Montaigne's  
learning

Montaigne  
delights  
in Plu-  
tarch and  
Seneca

draw the first lineaments. And there is no scholler (be he of the lowest forme) that may not repute himselfe wiser than I, who am not able to appose him in his first lesson: and if I be forced to it, I am constrained verie impertinently to draw in matter from some generall discourse, whereby I examine, and give a guesse at his naturall judgement: a lesson as much unknowne to them, as theirs is to me. I have not dealt or had commerce with any excellent booke, except *Plutarke* or *Seneca*, from whom (as the *Danaïdes*) I draw my water, uncessantly filling, and as fast emptying: some thing whereof I fasten to this paper, but to my selfe nothing at all. And touching bookes: Historie is my chiefe studie, Poesie my only delight, to which I am particularly affected: for as *Cleanthes* said, that as the voice being forcible pent in the narrow gullet of a trumpet, at last issueth forth more strong and shriller, so me seemes, that a sentence cunningly and closely couched in measure-keeping Posie, darts it selfe forth more furiously, and wounds me even to the quicke. And concerning the naturall faculties that are in me, (whereof behold here an essay) I perceive them to faint under their owne burthen; my conceits, and my judgement march but uncertaine, and as it were groping, staggering, and stumbling at every rush: And when I have gone as far as I can, I have no whit pleased my selfe: for the further I saile, the more land I descrie, and that so dimmed with fogges, and over-cast with clouds, that my sight is so

weakned, I cannot distinguish the same. And then undertaking to speake indifferently of all that presents it selfe unto my fantasie, and having nothing but mine owne naturall meanes to imploy therein, if it be my hap (as commonly it is) among good Authors, to light upon those verie places which I have undertaken to treat off, as even now I did in *Plutarke*, reading his discourse of the power of imagination, wherein in regard of those wise men, I acknowledge my selfe so weake, and so poore, so dull and grose-headed, as I am forced both to pittie and disdaine my selfe, yet am I pleased with this, that my opinions have often the grace to jump with theirs, and that I follow them a loofe-off, and thereby possesse at least, that which all other men have not; which is, that I know the utmost difference betweene them and my selfe: all which notwithstanding I suffer my inventions to run abroad, as weake and faint, as I have produced them, without bungling and botching the faults, which this comparison hath discovered to me in them. A man had need have a strong backe, to undertake to march foot to foot with these kind of men. The indiscreet writers of our age, amidst their triviall compositions, intermingle and wrest in whole sentences taken from ancient Authors, supposing by such filching-theft to purchase honour and reputation to themselves, doe cleane contrarie. For, this infinite varietie and dissemblance of lustres, makes a face so wan, so il-favored, and so uglie, in respect of theirs, that they lose much more than gaine thereby.

The wise  
men of  
old

Quota-  
tions long  
and short

These were two contrarie humours: The Philosopher *Chrisippus* was wont to foist-in amongst his bookes, not only whole sentences, and other long-long discourses, but whole bookes of other Authors, as in one, he brought in *Euripides* his *Medea*. And *Apollodorus* was wont to say of him, that if one should draw from out his bookes, what he had stolne from others, his paper would remaine blanke. Where as *Epicurus* cleane contrarie to him in three hundred volumes, he left behind him, had not made use of one allegation. It was my fortune not long since to light upon such a place: I had languishingly traced after some French words, so naked and shallow, and so void either of sence or matter, that at last I found them to be nought but meere French words; and after a tedious and wearisome travell, I chanced to stumble upon an high, rich, and even to the clouds-raised piece, the descent whereof had it been somewhat more pleasant or easie, or the ascent reaching a little further, it had been excusable, and to be borne-withall; but it was such a steepie downe-fall, and by meere strength hewen out of the maine rocke, that by reading of the first six words, me thought I was carried into another world: whereby I perceive the bottome whence I came to be so low and deep, as I durst never more adventure to go through it; for, if I did stuffe any one of my discourses with those rich spoiles, it would manifestly cause the sottishnesse of others to appeare. To reprove mine owne faults in others, seemes to me no more unsufferable, than to re-



prehend (as I doe often) those of others in my selfe. They ought to be accused every where, and have all places of Sanctuarie taken from them: yet do I know how over-boldly, at all times I adventure to equall my selfe unto my filchings, and to march hand in hand with them; not without a fond-hardie hope, that I may perhaps be able to bleare the eyes of the Judges from discerning them. But it is as much for the benefit of my application, as for the good of mine invention and force. And I doe not furiously front, and bodie to bodie wrestle with those old champions: it is but by sleights, advantages, and false-offers I seek to come within them, and if I can, to give them a fall. I doe not rashly take them about the necke, I doe but touch them, nor doe I go so far as by my bargain I would seeme to doe; could I but keepe even with them, I should then be an honest man; for I seeke not to venture on them, but where they are strongest. To doe as I have seen some, that is, to shroud themselves under others armes, not daring so much as to show their fingers ends unarmed, and to botch up all their works (as it is an easie matter in a common subject, namely for the wiser sort) with ancient inventions, here and there huddled-up together. And in those who endeavoured to hide what they have filched from others, and make it their owne, it is first a manifest note of injustice, than a plaine argument of cowardlinesse; who having nothing of any worth in themselves to make show of, will yet under the countenance of others

Mon-  
taigne  
and the  
old  
writers

Mon-  
taigne's  
aim to  
show  
forth  
himself

sufficiencie goe about to make a faire offer :  
Moreover (oh great foolishnesse) to seek by  
such cosening tricks to forestall the ignorant  
approbation of the common sort, nothing fearing  
to discover their ignorance to men of understand-  
ing (whose praise only is of value) who will  
soone trace out such borrowed ware. As for  
me, there is nothing I will doe lesse. I never  
spake of others, but that I may the more speake  
of my selfe. This concerneth not those mingle-  
mangles of many kinds of stuffe, or as the  
Grecians call them *Rapsodies*, that for such are  
published, of which kind I have (since I came  
to yeares of discretion) seen divers most in-  
genious and wittie ; amongst others, one under  
the name of *Capilupus* ; besides many of the  
ancient stampe. These are wits of such excel-  
lence, as both here and elsewhere they will soone  
be perceived, as our late famous writer *Lipsius*,  
in his learned and laborious work of the Poli-  
tiques : yet whatsoever come of it, for so much as  
they are but follies, my intent is not to smother  
them, no more than a bald and hoarie picture of  
mine, where a Painter hath drawne not a perfect  
visage, but mine owne. For, howsoever, these  
are but my humors and opinions, and I deliver  
them but to show what my conceit is, and not  
what ought to be beleaved. Wherin I ayme at  
nothing but to display my selfe, who peradven-  
ture (if a new prentiship change me) shall be  
another to morrow. I have no authoritie to  
purchase beliefe, neither do I desire it ; knowing  
well that I am not sufficiently taught to instruct

others. Some having read my precedent Chapter, The  
told me not long since in mine owne house, I greatest  
should somewhat more have extended my selfe labour  
in the discourse concerning the institution of is the  
children. Now (Madam) if there were any nurture of  
sufficiencie in me, touching that subject, I could children  
not better employ the same, than to bestow it  
as a present upon that little lad, which ere long  
threatneth to make a happie issue from out your  
honorable wombe: for (Madame) you are too  
generous to begin with other than a man childe.  
And having had so great a part in the conduct  
of your successefull marriage, I may challenge  
some right and interest in the greatnesse and  
prosperitie of all that shall proceed from it:  
moreover, the ancient and rightfull possession,  
which you from time to time have ever had, and  
still have over my service, urgeth me with more  
than ordinarie respects, to wish all honour, well-  
fare and advantage to whatsoever may in any sort  
concerne you and yours. And truly, my mean-  
ing is, but to shew, that the greatest difficultie,  
and importing all humane knowledge, seemeth to  
be in this point, where the nurture and institu-  
tion of young children is in question. For, as  
in matters of husbandrie, the labor that must be  
used before sowing, setting, and planting, yea in  
planting it selfe, is most certaine and easie. But  
when that which was sowed, set and planted,  
commeth to take life; before it come to ripe-  
nesse, much adoe, and great varietie of proceed-  
ing belongeth to it. So in men, it is no great  
matter to get them, but being borne, what con-

False-  
hood of  
so many  
hopes

tinuall cares, what diligent attendance, what doubts and feares, doe daily wait on their parents and tutors, before they can be nurtured and brought to any good? The fore-shew of their inclination whilst they are young is so uncertaine, their humours so variable, their promises so changing, their hopes so false, and their proceedings so doubtful, that it is very hard, (yea for the wisest) to ground any certaine judgement, or assured successe upon them. Behold *Cymon*, view *Themistocles*, and a thousand others, how they have differed, and fallen to better from themselves, and deceive the expectation of such as knew them. The young whelps both of Dogges and Beares, at first sight shew their naturall disposition, but men headlong imbracing this custome or fashion, following that humor or opinion, admitting this or that passion, allowing of that or this law, are easily changed, and soone disguised; yet is it hard to force the naturall propension or readinesse of the mind, whereby it followeth, that for want of heedie fore-sight in those that could not guide their course well, they often employ much time in vaine, to addresse young children in those matters, whereunto they are not naturally addicted. All which difficulties notwithstanding, mine opinion is, to bring them up in the best and profitablest studies, and that a man should slightly passe over those fond presages, and deceiving prognostikes, which we over precisely gather in their infancie. And (without offence be it said) me thinks, that *Plato* in his commonwealth alloweth them too-too much authoritie.

Madame, Learning joyned with true know-  
 ledge is an especiall and gracefull ornament,  
 and an implemēt of wonderfull use and conse-  
 quence, namely in persons raised to that degree  
 of fortune, wherein you are. And in good  
 truth, learning hath not her owne true forme,  
 nor can she make shew of her beauteous line-  
 aments, if she fall into the hands of base and  
 vile persons. [For, as famous *Torquato Tasso*  
 saith; ‘Philosophie being a rich and noble  
 ‘Queene, and knowing her owne worth, gra-  
 ‘ciously smileth upon, and lovingly embraceth  
 ‘Princes and noble men, if they become suters  
 ‘to her, admitting them as her minions, and  
 ‘gently affoording them all the favours she can;  
 ‘whereas upon the contrarie, if she be wooed,  
 ‘and sued unto by clownes, mechanicall fellowes,  
 ‘and such base kind of people, she holds her  
 ‘selfe disparaged and disgraced, as holding no  
 ‘proportion with them. And therfore see we  
 ‘by experience, that if a true Gentleman, or  
 ‘nobleman follow her with any attention, and  
 ‘wooded her with importunitie, he shall learne  
 ‘and know more of her, and prove a better  
 ‘scholler in one yeare, than an ungentle or  
 ‘base fellow shall in seven, though he pur-  
 ‘sue her never so attentively.’] She is much  
 more readie and fierce to lend her further-  
 ance and direction in the conduct of a warre,  
 to attempt honorable actions, to command a  
 people, to treat a peace with a prince of for-  
 raine nation, than she is to forme an argu-  
 ment in Logick, to devise a Syllogisme, to

**Tasso or  
 Philo-  
 sophy**

**Choice of** canvase a case at the barre, or to prescribe  
**tutor** a receit of pills. So (noble Ladie) forsomuch  
as I cannot perswade my selfe, that you will  
either forget or neglect this point, concerning  
the institution of yours, especially having tasted  
the sweetnesse thereof, and being descended of  
so noble and learned a race. For we yet pos-  
sesse the learned compositions of the ancient  
and noble Earles of *Foix*, from out whose  
heroicke loynes your husband and you take  
your of-spring. And *Francis* Lord of *Candale*  
your worthie uncle, doth daily bring forth  
such fruits thereof, as the knowledge of the  
matchlesse qualitie of your house shall here-  
after extend it selfe to many ages; I will  
therefore make you acquainted with one con-  
ceit of mine, which contrarie to the common  
use I hold, and that is all I am able to affoord  
you, concerning that matter. The charge of  
the Tutor, which you shall appoint your sonne,  
in the choice of whom consisteth the whole  
substance of his education and bringing-up;  
on which are many branches depending, which  
(forasmuch as I can adde nothing of any mo-  
ment to it) I will not touch at all. And for  
that point, wherein I presume to advise him,  
he may so far forth give credit unto it, as he  
shall see just cause. To a gentleman borne  
of noble parentage, and heire of a house, that  
aymeth at true learning, and in it would be  
disciplined, not so much for gaine or com-  
moditie to himselfe (because so abject an end  
is far unworthie the grace and favour of the

Muses, and besides, hath a regard or dependence of others) nor for externall shew and ornament, but to adorne and enrich his inward minde, desiring rather to shape and institute an able and sufficient man, than a bare learned man. My desire is therefore, that the parents or overseers of such a gentleman be very circumspect, and carefull in chusing his director, whom I would rather commend for having a well composed and temperate braine, than a full stufte head, yet both will doe well. And I would rather prefer wisdome, judgement, civill customes, and modest behaviour, than bare and meere literall learning; and that in his charge he hold a new course. Some never cease brawling in their schollers eares (as if they were still pouring in a tonell) to follow their booke, yet is their charge nothing else, but to repeat, what hath beene told them before. I would have a tutor to correct this part, and that at first entrance, according to the capacite of the wit he hath in hand, he should begin to make shew of it, making him to have a smacke of all things, and how to chuse and distinguish them, without helpe of others, sometimes opening him the way, other times leaving him to open it by himselfe. I would not have him to invent and speake alone, but suffer his disciple to speake when his turne commeth. *Socrates*, and after him *Arcesilaus*, made their schollers to speak first, and then would speake them-selves. *Obest plerumque iis qui discere vo-*

Judgment  
preferred  
before  
learning

**Sense of proportion absolutely needful** *lunt, auctoritas eorum qui docent (Cic. De Nat. i.). Most commonly the authoritie of them that teach, hinders them that would learne.*

It is therefore meet, that he make him first trot-on before him, whereby he may the better judge of his pace, and so guesse how long he will hold out, that accordingly he may fit his strength: for want of which proportion, we often marre all. And to know how to make a good choice, and how far forth one may proceed (still keeping a due measure) is one of the hardest labours I know. It is a signe of a noble, and effect of an undanted spirit, to know how to second, and how far forth he shall condescend to his childish proceedings, and how to guide them. As for my selfe, I can better and with more strength walke up, than downe a hill. Those which according to our common fashion, undertake with one selfe-same lesson, and like maner of education, to direct many spirits of divers formes and different humours, it is no marvell if among a multitude of children, they scarce meet with two or three, that reap any good fruit by their discipline, or that come to any perfection. I would not only have him to demand an accompt of the words contained in his lesson, but of the sense and substance thereof, and judge of the profit he hath made of it, not by the testimonie of his memorie, but by the witnesse of his life. That what he lately learned, he cause him to set forth and pourtray the same into sundrie shapes, and then



to accommodate it to as many different and severall subjects; whereby he shal perceive, whether he have yet apprehended the same, and therein enfeoffed himselfe, at due times taking his instruction from the institution given by *Plato*. It is a signe of cruditie and indigestion for a man to yeeld up his meat, even as he swallowed the same: the stomacke hath not wrought his full operation, unlesse it have changed forme, and altered fashion of that which was given him to boyle and concoct.

Indi-  
gested  
learning

[Wee see men gape after no reputation but learning, and when they say, such a one is a learned man, they thinke they have said enough;] Our minde doth move at others pleasure, as tyed and forced to serve the fantasies of others, being brought under by authoritie, and forced to stoope to the lure of their bare lesson; wee have beene so subjected to harpe upon one string, that we have no way left us to descant upon voluntarie: our vigor and libertie is cleane extinct. *Nunquam tutelæ suæ fiunt. They never come to their owne tuition.* It was my hap to bee familiarlie acquainted with an honest man at *Pisa*, but such an *Aristotelian*, as he held this infallible position; that a conformitie to *Aristotles* doctrine was the true touchstone and squire of all solide imaginations, and perfect veritie; for, whatsoever had no coherencie with it, was but fond *Chimeraes*, and idle humours; in as much as he had knowne all, seene all, and said all. This proposition of his, being some-

Let him what over amply and injuriously interpreted  
 know by some, made him a long time after to be  
 that he troubled in the inquisition of *Rome*. I would  
 knoweth have him make his scholler narrowly to sift  
 all things with discretion, and harbour nothing  
 in his head by meere authoritie, or upon trust.  
*Aristotles* principles shall be no more axiomes  
 unto him, than the *Stoikes* or *Epicurians*. Let  
 this diversitie of judgements be proposed unto  
 him, if he can, he shall be able to distinguish  
 the truth from falsehood, if not, he will re-  
 maine doubtfull.

*Che non men che saper dubbiar m'aggrada.*

—DANTE, *Inferno*, cant. xii. 48.

No lesse it pleaseth me,  
 To doubt, than wise to be.

For if by his owne discourse he embrace  
 the opinions of *Xenophon*, or of *Plato*, they  
 shall be no longer theirs, but his. He that  
 meerely followeth another, traceth nothing, and  
 seeketh nothing: *Non sumus sub Rege, sibi  
 quisque se vindicet* (*SEN. Epist. xxxiii.*). *We  
 are not under a Kings command, every one may  
 challenge himselfe, for let him at least know that  
 he knoweth.* It is requisite he endeavour as  
 much to feed himselfe with their conceits, as  
 labour to learne their precepts; which, so he  
 know how to applie, let him hardly forget,  
 where, or whence he had them. Truth and  
 reason are common to all, and are no more  
 proper unto him that spake them heretofore,  
 than unto him that shall speake them here-

after. And it is no more according to *Platoes* opinion, than to mine, since both he and I understand and see alike. The Bees doe here and there sucke this, and cull that flower, but afterward they produce the hony, which is peculiarly their owne, then is it no more Thyme or Majoram. So of peeces borrowed of others, he may lawfully alter, transforme, and confound them, to shape out of them a perfect peece of worke, altogether his owne; alwaies provided, his judgement, his travell, studie, and institution tend to nothing, but to frame the same perfect. Let him hardly conceale, where, or whence he hath had any helpe, and make no shew of any thing, but of that which he hath made himselfe. Pirates, filchers, and borrowers, make a shew of their purchases and buildings, but not of that which they have taken from others: you see not the secret fees or bribes Lawyers take of their Clients, but you shall manifestly discover the alliances they make, the honours they get for their children, and the goodly houses they build. No man makes open shew of his receipts, but every one of his gettings. The good that comes of studie (or at least should come) is to prove better, wiser, and honester. It is the understanding power (said *Epicharmus*) that seeth and heareth, it is it, that profiteth all, and disposeth all, that moveth, swayeth, and ruleth all: all things else are but blind, senselesse, and without spirit. And truly in barring him of libertie to doe any thing of himselfe, we make him

Honey is  
culled  
from  
divers  
flowers

Value of  
a ready  
memory

thereby more servile and more coward. Who would ever enquire of his scholler what he thinketh of Rhetorike, of Grammar, of this, or of that sentence of *Cicero*? Which things throughly fethered (as if they were oracles) are let flie into our memorie; in which both letters and syllables are substantiall parts of the subject. To know by roat is no perfect knowledge, but to keep what one hath committed to his memories charge, is commendable: what a man directly knoweth, that will he dispose-of, without turning still to his booke, or looking to his pattern. A meere bookish sufficiencie is unpleasant. All I expect of it, is an imbellishing of my actions, and not a foundation of them, according to *Platoes* mind, who saith, constancie, faith, and sinceritie, are true Philosophie; as for other Sciences, and tending else-where, they are but garish paintings. I would faine have *Paluel* or *Pompey*, those two excellent dauncers of our time, with all their nimblenesse, teach any man to doe their loftie tricks, and high capers, only with seeing them done, and without stirring out of his place, as some Pedanticall fellowes would instruct our minds without moving or putting it in practice. And glad would I be to find one, that would teach us how to manage a horse, to tosse a pike, to shoot-off a peece, to play upon the lute, or to warble with the voice, without any exercise, as these kind of men would teach us to judge, and how to speake well, without any exercise of speaking or judging. In which kind of life,

or as I may terme it, Prentiship, what action or object soever presents it-selfe unto our eies, may serve us in stead of a sufficient booke. A prettie pranke of a boy, a knavish tricke of a page, a foolish part of a lackey, an idle tale or any discourse else, spoken either in jest or earnest, at the table or in companie, are even as new subjects for us to worke-upon : for furtherance whereof, commerce or common societie among men, visiting of forraine countries, and observing of strange fashions, are verie necessary, not only to be able (after the manner of our yong gallants of *France*) to report how many paces the Church of *Santa Rotonda* is in length or breadth, or what rich garments the curtezan *Signora Livia* weareth, and the worth of her hosen ; or as some do, nicely to dispute how much longer or broader the face of *Nero* is, which they have seene in some old ruines of *Italie*, than that which is made for him in other old monuments elsewhere. But they should principally observe, and be able to make certaine relation of the humours and fashions of those countries they have seene, that they may the better know how to correct and prepare their wits by those of others. I would therefore have him begin even from his infancie to travell abroad ; and first, that at one shoot he may hit two markes, he should see neighbour-countries, namely where languages are most different from ours ; for, unlesse a mans tongue be fashioned unto them in his youth, he shall

Worth of  
travel

One should not be spared in youth never attaine to the true pronuntiation of them, if he once grow in yeares. Moreover, we see it received as a common opinion of the wiser sort, that it agreeth not with reason, that a childe be alwaies nuzzled, cockered, dandled, and brought up in his parents lap or sight; forsomuch as their naturall kindnesse, or (as I may call it) tender fondnesse, causeth often, even the wisest to prove so idle, so over-nice, and so base-minded. For parents are not capable, neither can they find in their hearts to see them checkt, corrected, or chastised, nor indure to see them brought up so meanly, and so far from daintinesse, and many times so dangerously, as they must needs be. And it would grieve them to see their children come home from those exercises, that a Gentleman must necessarily acquaint himselfe with, sometimes all wet and bemyred, other times sweatie, and full of dust, and to drinke being either extreme hot, or exceeding cold; and it would trouble them to see him ride a rough-untamed horse, or with his weapon furiously incounter a skilfull Fencer, or to handle and shoot-off a musket; against which there is no remedy, if he will make him prove a sufficient, compleat, or honest man: he must not be spared in his youth; and it will come to passe, that he shall many times have occasion and be forced to shooke the rules of Physicke.

*Vitamque sub dio et trepidis agat  
In rebus.*— HOR. i. Od. ii. 4.

Leade he his life in open aire,  
And in affaires full of despaire.

**A hard  
discipline  
beneficial**

It is not sufficient to make his minde strong, his muskles must also be strengthened: the minde is over-borne if it be not seconded: and it is too much for her alone to discharge two offices. I have a feeling how mine panteth, being joyned to so tender and sensible a bodie, and that lieth so heavie upon it. And in my lecture, I often perceive how my Authors in their writings sometimes commend examples for magnanimitie and force, that rather proceed from a thicke skin and hardnes of the bones. I have knowne men, women and children borne of so hard a constitution, that a blow with a cudgell would lesse hurt them, than a filip would doe me, and so dull and blockish, that they will neither stir tongue nor eye-browes, beat them never so much. When wrestlers goe about to counterfeit the Philosophers patience, they rather shew the vigor of their sinnewes, than of their heart. For the custome to beare travell, is to tolerate grieve: *Labor callum obducit dolori* (Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii.): *Labour worketh a hardnesse upon sorrow.* Hee must be enured to suffer the paine and hardnesse of exercises, that so he may be induced to endure the paine of the colicke, of cauterie, of fals, of sprains, and other diseases incident to mans bodie: yea, if need require, patiently to beare imprisonment, and other tortures, by which sufferance

He should be discreet and not easily offended he shall come to be had in more esteeme and accompt: for according to time and place, the good as well as the bad man may haply fall into them; we have seen it by experience. Whosoever striveth against the lawes, threatens good men with mischief and extortion. Moreover, the authoritie of the Tutor (who should be soveraigne over him) is by the cockering and presence of the parents, hindred and interrupted: besides the awe and respect which the houshold beares him, and the knowledge of the meanes, possibilities, and greatnesse of his house, are in my judgement, no small lets in a young Gentleman. In this schoole of commerce, and societie among men, I have often noted this vice, that in lieu of taking acquaintance of others, we only endeavour to make our selves knowne to them: and we are more ready to utter such merchandize as we have, than to ingrosse and purchase new commodities. Silence and modestie are qualities verie convenient to civil conversation. It is also necessary, that a young man be rather taught to be discreetly-sparing, and close-handed, than prodigally-wastfull and lavish in his expences, and moderate in husbanding his wealth when he shall come to possesse it. And not to take pepper in the nose for every foolish tale that shall be spoken in his presence, because it is an uncivil importunity, to contradict, whatsoever is not agreeing to our humour: let him be pleased to correct himselfe. And let him not seeme to blame that in others, which



he refuseth to doe himselfe, nor goe about to withstand common fashions. *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia* (SEN. *Epist.* ciii. f.). *A man may bee wise without ostentation, without envie,* Let him avoid those imperious images of the world, those uncivil behaviours, and childish ambition, wherewith Godwot, too-too many are possest: that is, to make a faire shew of that, which is not in him: endeavouring to be reputed other than indeed he is; and as if reprehension and new devices were hard to come by, he would by that meane acquire unto himselfe the name of some peculiar vertue. As it pertaineth but to great Poets to use the libertie of arts; so is it tolerable but in noble minds, and great spirits to have a preheminance above ordinarie fashions. *Si quid Socrates et Aristippus contra morem et consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitretur licere: Magis enim illi et divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequebantur* (CIC. *Off.* i.). *If Socrates and Aristippus have done ought against custome or good manner, let not a man thinke he may doe the same: for they obtained this licence by their great and excellent good parts:* He shall be taught, not to enter rashly into discourse or contesting, but when he shall encounter with a Champion, worthie his strength; And then would I not have him imploy all the tricks that may fit his turne, but only such as may stand him in most stead. That he be taught to be curious in making choice of his reasons, loving pertinency, and by consequence brevitie. That above all, he be instructed to yeeld, yea to quit his weapons unto

Wise and  
without  
ostenta-  
tion

The principles of  
a gentleman

truth, as soone as he shall discerne the same, whether it proceed from his adversarie, or upon better advice from himselfe, for, he shall not be preferred to any place of eminencie above others, for repeating of a prescript part; and he is not engaged to defend any cause, further than he may approve it; nor shall he bee of that trade, where the libertie for a man to repent and re-advise himselfe is sold for readie money. *Neque, ut omnia, quæ præscripta et imperata sint, defendat, necessitate ulla cogitur* (Cic. Acad. Qu. iv.). Nor is he inforced by any necessitie to defend and make good all that is prescribed and commanded him. If his tutor agree with my humour, he shall frame his affection, to be a most loyall and true subject to his Prince, and a most affectionate and courageous Gentleman, in al that may concerne the honor of his Sovereigne, or the good of his countrie. And endeavour to suppress in him all maner of affection to undertake any action otherwise than for a publike good and dutie. Besides many inconveniences, which greatly prejudice our libertie, by reason of these particular bonds; the judgement of a man that is waged and bought, either it is lesse free and honest, or else it is blemisht with oversight and ingratitude. A meere and precise Courtier can neither have law nor will to speake or thinke, otherwise than favourablie of his Master, who among so many thousands of his subjects, hath made choice of him alone, to institute and bring him up with his owne hand. These favours, with the commodities that follow minion Courtiers, corrupt

(not without some colour of reason) his libertie, and dazle his judgement. It is therefore commonly seene, that the Courtiers-language differs from other mens, in the same state, and to be of no great credit in such matters. Let therefore his conscience and vertue shine in his speech, and reason be his chiefe direction. Let him be taught to confesse such faults as he shall discover in his owne discourses, albeit none other perceive them but himselfe; for it is an evident shew of judgement, and effect of sinceritie, which are the chiefest qualities he aymeth at. That wilfully to strive, and obstinately to contest in words, are common qualities, most apparent in basest mindes: That to re-advise and correct himselfe, and when one is most earnest, to leave an ill opinion, are rare, noble, and Philosophicall conditions. Being in companie, he shall be put in minde, to cast his eyes round about, and every where: For I note, that the chiefe places are usually seazed upon by the most unworthie, and lesse capable; and that height of fortune is seldome joyned with sufficiencie. I have seene, that whilst they at the upper end of a board were busie entertaining themselves, with talking of the beautie of the hangings about a chamber, or of the taste of some good cup of wine, many good discourses at the lower end, have utterly been lost. He shall weigh the carriage of every man in his calling, a Heardsman, a Mason, a Stranger, or a traveller; all must be employed; every one according to his worth; for all helps to make up houshold; yea, the follie and the simplicities

The care  
of words

Worth of others shall be as instructions to him. By  
 of the controlling the graces and manners of others, he  
 study of shall acquire into himselfe envie of the good,  
 History and contempt of the bad. Let him hardly be  
 possess with an honest curiositie to search out the  
 nature and causes of all things: let him survey  
 what-soever is rare and singular about him; a  
 building, a fountaine, a man, a place where any  
 battell hath been fought, or the passages of  
*Cæsar* or *Charlemaine*.

*Quæ tellus sit lenta gelu, quæ putris ab æstu,  
 Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ferat.*

—PROP. iv. *El.* iii. 39.

What land is parcht with heat, what clog'd with  
 frost,  
 What wind drives kindly to th' Italian coast.

He shall endeavour to be familiarly acquainted  
 with the customes, with the meanes, with the  
 state, with the dependances and alliances of all  
 Princes; they are things soone and pleasant to  
 be learned, and most profitable to be knowne.  
 In this acquaintance of men, my meaning is, that  
 hee chiefly comprehend them, that live but by  
 the memorie of bookes. He shall, by the help  
 of Histories, informe himselfe of the worthiest  
 minds that were in the best ages. It is a  
 frivolous studie, if a man list, but of unvaluable  
 worth, to such as can make use of it. And as  
*Plato* saith, the onely studie the Lacedemonians  
 reserved for themselves. What profit shall he  
 not reap, touching this point, reading the lives  
 of our *Plutark*? Alwayes conditioned, the

master bethinke himselfe whereto his charge tendeth, and that he imprint not so much in his schollers mind the date of the ruine of *Carthage*, as the manners of *Hanniball* and *Scipio*, nor so much where *Marcellus* died, as because he was unworthy of his devoire he died there: that he teach him not so much to know Histories, as to judge of them. It is, amongst things that best agree with my humour, the subject to which our spirits doe most diversly applie themselves. I have read in *Titus Livius* a number of things, which peradventure others never read, in whom *Plutarke* haply read a hundred more, than ever I could read, and which perhaps the author himselfe did never intend to set downe. To some kind of men, it is a meere gramaticall studie, but to others a perfect anatomie of Philosophie; by meanes whereof, the secretest part of our nature is searched-into. There are in *Plutarke* many ample discourses most worthy to be knowne: for in my judgement, he is the chiefe work-master of such works, whereof there are a thousand, whereat he hath but slightly glanced; for with his finger he doth but point us out a way to walke in, if we list; and is sometimes pleased to give but a touch at the quickest and maine point of a discourse, from whence they are by diligent studie to be drawne, and so brought into open market. As that saying of his. That the inhabitants of *Asia* served but one alone, because they could not pronounce one onely syllable, which is *Non*, gave perhaps both subject and occasion to my

Plutarch  
the  
master-  
worker

The half  
is greater  
than the  
whole

friend *Beotie* to compose his booke of voluntarie servitude. If it were no more but to see *Plutarke* wrest a slight action to mans life; or a word that seemeth to beare no such sence, it will serve for a whole discourse. It is pittie men of understanding should so much love brevitie, without doubt their reputation is thereby better, but we the worse. *Plutarke* had rather we should commend him for his judgement, than for his knowledge, he loveth better to leave a kind of longing-desire in us of him, than a sactietie. He knew verie well, that even in good things, too much may be said: and that *Alexandridas* did justly reprove him, who spake verie good sentences to the *Ephores*, but they were over tedious. Oh stranger, quoth he, thou speakest what thou oughtest, otherwise then thou shouldest. Those that have leane and thin bodies stuffe them up with bumbasting. And such as have but poore matter, will puffe it up with loftie words. There is a marvelous cleerenesse, or as I may terme it an enlightning of mans judgement drawne from the commerce of men, and by frequenting abroad in the world: we are all so contrived and compact in our selves, that our sight is made shorter by the length of our nose. When *Socrates* was demaunded whence he was, he answered, not of *Athens*, but of the world; for he, who had his imagination more full, and farther stretching, embraced all the world for his native Citie, and extended his acquaintance, his societie, and affections to all man-kind: and not as we do,

that looke no further than our feet. If the frost chance to nip the vines about my village, my Priest doth presently argue, that the wrath of God hangs over our head, and threatneth all mankind: and judgeth that the Pippe is alreadie false upon the Canibals.

Variety  
of Mother  
Nature

In viewing these intestine and civill broiles of ours, who doth not exclaime, that this worlds vast-frame is neere unto a dissolution, and that the day of judgement is readie to fall on us? never remembreing that many worse revolutions have been seene, and that whilest we are plunged in grieve, and overwhelmed in sorrow, a thousand other parts of the world besides are blessed with all happinesse, and wallow in pleasures, and never thinke on us? whereas, when I behold our lives, our licence, and impunitie, I wonder to see them so milde and easie. He on whose head it haileth, thinks all the Hemisphere besides to be in a storme and tempest. And as that dull-pated *Savoyard* said, that if the seelie King of *France* could cunningly have managed his fortune, he might verie well have made himselfe chiefe Steward of his Lords houshold, whose imagination conceived no other greatnesse than his Masters; we are all insensible of this kind of errour: an errour of great consequence and prejudice. But whosoever shall present unto his inward eyes, as it were in a Table, the Idea of the great image of our universall mother Nature, attired in her richest robes, sitting in the throne of her Majestie, and in her visage shall read, so generall, and so constant a varietie; he

Changes and chances of life that therein shall view himselfe, not himselfe alone, but a whole Kingdome, to be in respect of a great circle; but the smallest point that can be imagined, he onely can value things according to their essentiall greatnesse and proportion. This great universe (which some multiplie as *Species* under one *Genus*) is the true looking-glasse wherein we must looke, if we will know whether we be of a good stamp, or in the right byase. To conclude, I would have this world's-frame to be my Schollers choise-booke: So many strange humours, sundrie sects, varying judgements, diverse opinions, different lawes, and fantasticall customes teach us to judge rightly of ours, and instruct our judgement to acknowledge his imperfections and naturall weaknesse, which is no easie an apprenticeship: So many innovations of estates, so many fals of Princes, and changes of publike fortune, may, and ought to teach us, not to make so great accompt of ours: So many names, so many victories, and so many conquests buried in darke oblivion, makes the hope to perpetuate our names, but ridiculous, by the surprising of ten Argo-lettiers, or of a small cottage, which is knowne but by his fall. The pride and fiercenesse of so many strange and gorgeous shewes: the pride-puft majestie of so many courts, and of their greatnesse, ought to confirme and assure our sight, undauntedly to beare the affronts and thunder-claps of ours, without seeling our eyes: So many thousands of men, low-laide in their graves afore us, may encourage us, not to feare,



or be dismaied to go meet so good companie in the other world ; and so of all things else. Our life (said *Pithagoras*) drawes neare unto the great and populous assemblies of the Olympike games, wherein some, to get the glorie, and to win the goale of the games, exercise their bodies with all industrie ; others, for greedinesse of gaine, bring thither marchandise to sell : others there are (and those be not the worst) that seek after no other good, but to marke, how, wherefore, and to what end, all things are done : and to be spectators or observers of other mens lives and actions, that so they may the better judge and direct their owne. Unto examples may all the most profitable Discourses of Philosophie be sorted, which ought to be the touch-stone of humane actions, and a rule to square them by, to whom may be said,

Philosophy a touch-stone

—*quid fas optare, quid asper  
Utile nummus habet, patriæ charisque propinquis  
Quantum elargiri deceat, quem te Deus esse  
Jussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re,  
Quid sumus, aut quidnam victuri gignimur.*  
—PERS. Sat. iii. 69, 67.

What thou maiest wish, what profit may come  
    cleare,  
From new-stamp't coyne, to friends and countrie  
    deare,  
What thou ought'st give : whom God would  
    have thee bee,  
And in what part mongst men he placed thee.  
What we are, and wherefore,  
To live heer we were bore.

What it is to know, and not to know (which

**How to live and how to die well** ought to be the scope of studie) what valour, what temperance, and what justice is: what difference there is betweene ambition and avarice, bondage and freedome, subjection and libertie, by which markes a man may distinguish true and perfect contentment, and how far-forth one ought to feare or apprehend death, griefe, or shame.

*Et quo quemque modo fugiâtque ferâtque laborem.*

—VIRG. *Aen.* viii. 853.

How ev'ry labour he may plie,  
And beare, or ev'ry labour flie.

What wards or springs move us, and the causes of so many motions in us: For me seemeth, that the first discourses, wherewith his conceit should be sprinkled, ought to be those, that rule his manners, and direct his sense; which will both teach him to know himselfe, and how to live, and how to die well. Among the liberall Sciences, let us begin with that which makes us free: Indeed, they may all in some sort stead us, as an instruction to our life, and use of it, as all other things else serve the same to some purpose or other. But let us make especiall choice of that, which may directly and pertinently serve the same. If we could restraine and adapt the appurtenances of our life to their right byase and naturall limits, we should find the best part of the Sciences that now are in use, cleane out of fashion with us: yea, and in those that are most in use, there are certaine by-ways and deep-flows most profitable, which we should

do well to leave, and according to the institution of *Socrates*, limit the course of our studies in those where profit is wanting. Useless  
know-  
ledge

—*sapere aude,*  
*Incipe: vivendi qui rectè prorogat horam,*  
*Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at ille*  
*Labitur, et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

—HOR. i. *Epist.* ii. 40.

Be bold to be wise: to begin, be strong,  
He that to live well doth the time prolong,  
Clowne-like expects, till downe the streame be run;  
That runs, and will run, till the world be done.

It is more simplicitie to teach our children.

*Quid moveant Pisces, animosâque signa Leonis,*  
*Lotus et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua.*

—PROP. iv. *El.* i. 85.

What *Pisces* move, or hot-breath'd *Leos* beames,  
Or *Capricornus* bath'd in westerne streames.

The knowledge of the starres, and the motion  
of the eighth spheare, before their owne.

Τί Πλειάδεσσι κάμολι τί δ' ἀστράσι βούττω.

What longs it to the seaven stars, and me,  
Or those about *Boôtes* be.

*Anaximenes* writing to *Pythagoras*, saith, with  
what sense can I amuse my selfe to the secrets of  
the Starres, having continually death or bondage  
before mine eyes? For at that time the Kings of  
*Persia* were making preparations to war against  
his Countrie. All men ought to say so. Being  
beaten with ambition, with avarice, with rash-  
nesse, and with superstition, and having such

Teach other enemies unto life within him. Wherefore first to shall I study and take care about the mobility make and variation of the world? When hee is once, better and taught what is fit to make him better and wiser, wiser he shall be entertained with Logicke, naturall Philosophy, Geometry, and Rhetoricke, then having settled his judgement, looke what science he doth most addict himselfe unto, he shall in short time attaine to the perfection of it. His lecture shall be somtimes by way of talke and somtimes by booke: his tutor may now and then supply him with the same Author, as an end and motive of his institution: sometimes giving him the pith and substance of it ready chewed. And if of himselfe he be not so thoroughly acquainted with bookes, that hee may readily find so many notable discourses as are in them to effect his purpose, it shall not be amisse, that some learned man being appointed to keepe him company, who at any time of need, may furnish him with such munition, as hee shall stand in need of; that hee may afterward distribute and dispense them to his best use. And that this kind of lesson be more easie and naturall than that of *Gaza*, who will make question? Those are but harsh, thornie, and unpleasant precepts; vaine, idle and immateriall words, on which small hold may be taken; wherein is nothing to quicken the minde. In this, the spirit findeth substance to [bite] and feed upon. A fruit without all comparison much better, and that will soone be ripe. It is a thing worthy consideration, to see what state things are brought unto in this our age; and how Philo-

sophie, even to the wisest, and men of best understanding, is but an idle, vaine and fantastical name, of small use, and lesse worth, both in opinion and effect. I thinke these Sophistries are the cause of it, which have forestalled the wayes to come unto it: They doe very ill, that goe about to make it seeme as it were inaccessible for children to come unto, setting it foorth with a wrimples, gastlie, and frowning visage; who hath masked her with so counterfet, pale, and hideous a countenance? There is nothing more beauteous, nothing more delightfull, nothing more gamesome; and as I may say, nothing more fondly wanton: for she presenteth nothing to our eyes, and preacheth nothing to our eares, but sport and pastime. A sad and lowring looke plainly declareth, that that is not her haunt. *Demetrius* the Gramarian, finding a companie of Philosophers sitting close together in the Temple of *Delphos*, said unto them, *Either I am deceived, or by your plausible and pleasant lookes, you are not in any serious and earnest discourse amongst your selves; to whom one of them named Heracleon the Megarian answered, That belongeth to them, who busie themselves in seeking, whether future tense of the verbe βάλλω hath a double λ, or that labour to find the derivation of the comparatives, χείρων, βέλτιων, and of the superlatives χείριστον, βέλτιστον, it is they, that must chafe in intertaining themselves with their science: as for discourses of Philosophie they are wont to glad, rejoyce, and not to vex and molest those that use them.*

Nothing  
more en-  
ticing  
than  
Philo-  
sophy

Rejoice  
always

*Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in ægro  
Corpore, deprendas et gaudia, sumit utrumque  
Inde habitum facies.*—JUVEN. Sat. ix. 18.

You may perceive the torments of the mind,  
Hid in sicke bodie, you the joyes may find,  
The face such habit takes in either kind.

That mind which harboureth Philosophie, ought by reason of her sound health, make that bodie also sound and healthie: it ought to make her contentment to through-shine in all exterior parts: it ought to shapen and modell all outward demeanours to the modell of it: and by consequence arme him that doth possesse it, with a gracious stoutnesse, and lively audacitie, with an active and pleasing gesture, and with a setled and cheerefull countenance. The most evident token, and apparant signe of true wisdom, is a constant, and unconstrained rejoycing, whose estate is like unto all things above the Moone, that is, ever cleare, alwaies bright. It is *Baroco* and *Baralipton*, that makes their followers prove so base and idle, and not Philosophie; they know her not, but by heare-say; what? Is it not shee, that cleereth all stormes of the mind? And teacheth miserie, famine, and sicknesse to laugh? Not by reason of some imaginarie Epicicles, but by naturall and palpable reasons. Shee aymeth at nothing but vertue: it is vertue shee seekes after; which as the schoole saith, is not pitcht on the top of an high, steepie, or inaccessible hill; for they that have come unto her, affirme, that cleane-contrarie, shee keeps her stand, and holds her

mansion, in a faire, flourishing, and pleasant plaine, whence as from an high watch tower, she survaieth all things, to be subject unto her, to whom any man may with great facilitie come, if he but know the way or entrance to her palace: for, the pathes that lead unto her, are certaine fresh, and shadie greene allies, sweet and flowrie waies, whose ascent is even, easie, and nothing wearisome, like unto that of heavens-vaults. Forsomuch as they have not frequented this vertue, who gloriously, as in a throne of Majestie sits soveraigne, goodly, triumphant, lovely, equally delicious, and couragious, protesting her selfe to be a professed and irreconciliable enemie to all sharpnesse, austeritie, feare, and compulsion; having nature for her guide, fortune and voluptuousnesse for her companions; they according to their weaknesse have imaginarily fained her, to have a foolish, sad, grim, quareulous, spitefull, threatning, and disdainfull visage, with an horride and unpleasant looke; and have placed her, upon a craggie, sharpe, and unfrequented rocke, amidst desert cliffes, and uncouth crags, as a skar-crow, or bug-beare, to affright the common people with. Now the tutour, which ought to know, that he should rather seek to fill the mind, and store the will of his disciple, as much, or rather more, with love and affection, than with awe, and reverence unto vertue, may shew and tell him, that Poets follow common humours, making him plainly to perceive, and as it were palpably to feele, that the Gods have rather placed labour and sweat at

Her ways  
are ways  
of pleas-  
antness

The prize,  
glory, and  
height of  
virtue

the entrances, which lead to *Venus* chambers, than at the doores, that direct to *Pallas* cabinets.

And when he shall perceive his scholler to have a sensible feeling of himselfe, presenting *Bradamant*, or *Angelica* before him, as a Mistresse to enjoy, embelished with a naturall, active, generous, and unspotted beautie, not uglie, or Giant-like, but blithe and livelie, in respect of a wanton, soft, affected, and artificiall-flaring beautie; the one attired like unto a young man, coyfed with a bright-shining helmet, the other disguised and drest about the head like unto an impudent harlot, with embroyderies, frizelings, and carcanets of pearles: he will no doubt deeme his owne love to be a man and no woman, if in his choice he differ from that effeminate shepherd of *Phrygia*. In this new kind of lesson, he shall declare unto him, that the prize, the glorie, and height of true vertue, consisted in the facilitie, profit, and pleasure of his exercises: so far from difficultie, and incumbrances, that children as well as men, the simple as soone as the wise, may come unto her. Discretion and temperance, not force or waywardnesse are the instruments to bring him unto her. *Socrates* (vertues chiefe favorite) that he might the better walke in the pleasant, naturall, and open path, of her progresses, doth voluntarily and in good earnest, quit all compulsion. Shee is the nurse and foster-mother of all humane pleasures, who in making them just and upright, she also makes them sure and sincere. By moderating them, she keepeth them in ure



and breath. In limiting and cutting them off, whom she refuseth; she whets us on toward those she leaveth unto us; and plenteously leaves us them, which Nature pleaseth, and like a kind mother giveth us over unto sacietie, if not unto wearisomnesse, unlesse we will per-adventure say, that the rule and bridle, which stayeth the drunkard before drunkennesse, the glutton before surfetting, and the letcher before the losing of his haire, be the enemies of our pleasures. If common fortune faile her, it cleerely scapes her; or she cares not for her, or she frames another unto herselfe, altogether her owne, not so fleeting, nor so rowling. She knoweth the way how to be rich, mightie and wise, and how to lie in sweet-perfumed beds. She loveth life; she delights in beautie, in glorie, and in health. But her proper and particular office is, first to know how to use such goods temperately, and how to lose them constantly. An office much more noble, than severe, without which, all course of life is unnaturall, turbulent, and deformed, to which one may lawfully joyne those rocks, those incumbrances, and those hideous monsters. If so it happen, that his Disciple prove of so different a condition, that he rather love to give eare to an idle fable, than to the report of some noble voiage, or other notable and wise discourse, when he shall heare it; that at the sound of a Drum, or clang of a Trumpet, which are wont to rowze and arme the youthly heat of his companions, turneth to another that calleth

The proper office  
of virtue

The good of vigorous discipline him to see a play, tumbling, juggling tricks, or other idle lose-time sports ; and who for pleasures sake doth not deeme it more delightsome to returne all sweatie and wearie from a victorious combat, from wrestling, or riding of a horse, than from a Tennis-court, or dancing schoole, with the prize or honour of such exercises ; The best remedy I know for such a one, is, to put him prentise to some base occupation, in some good towne or other, yea, were he the sonne of a Duke ; according to *Platoes* rule, who saith, *That children must be placed, not according to their fathers conditions, but the faculties of their mind.* Since it is Philosophie that teacheth us to live, and that infancie as well as other ages, may plainly read her lessons in the same, why should it not be imparted unto young Schollers ?

*Udum et molle lutum est, nunc nunc properandus, et acri  
Fingendus sine fine rota.*—PERS. Sat. iii. 23.

He's moist and soft mould, and must by and by  
Be cast, made up, while wheele whirl's readily.

We are taught to live, when our life is well-nigh spent. Many schollers have been infected with that loathsome and marrow-wasting disease, before ever they came to read *Aristotles* treatise of Temperance. *Cicero* was wont to say, *That could he out-live the lives of two men, he should never find leasure to study the Lyrike Poets.* And I find these Sophisters both worse and more unprofitable. Our childe is engaged in greater matters ; And but the first fifteene or sixteene

yeares of his life, are due unto Pedantisme, the rest unto action: let us therefore imploy so short time, as we have to live, in more necessarie instructions. It is an abuse; remove these thornie quiddities of Logike, whereby our life can no whit be amended, and betake our selves to the simple discourses of Philosophy; know how to chuse and fitly to make use of them: they are much more easie to be conceived than one of *Bocace* his tales. A childe comming from nurse is more capable of them, than he is to learne to read or write. Philosophy hath discourses, whereof infancie as well as decaying old-age may make good use. I am of *Plutarkes* mind, which is, that *Aristotle* did not so much amuse his great Disciple about the arts how to frame Syllogismes, or the principles of Geometrie, as he endeavoured to instruct him with good precepts, concerning valour, prowess, magnanimitie, and temperance, and an undanted assurance not to feare any thing; and with such munition he sent him, being yet verie young, to subdue the Empire of the world, only with 30000. footmen, 4000. horsemen, and 42000. Crownes in monie. As for other arts and sciences; he saith *Alexander* honored them, and commended their excellencie and comliness; but for any pleasure he tooke in them, his affection could not easily be drawne to exercise them.

The  
teaching  
of Aris-  
totle

—*petite hinc juvenesque senesque  
Finem animo certum, miserisque viatica canis.*

—*Sat. v. 64.*

Young men and old, draw hence (in your affaires)  
Your minds set marke, provision for gray haire.

Evils of  
bookish-  
ness

It is that which *Epicurus* said in the beginning of his letter to *Meniceus*: *Neither let the youngest shun, nor the oldest wearie himselfe in philosophying, for who doth otherwise seemeth to say, that either the season to live happily is not yet come, or is already past.* Yet would I not have this young gentleman pent-up, nor carelessly cast-off to the heedlesse choler, or melancholy humour of the hasty Schoole-master. I would not have his budding spirit corrupted with keeping him fast-tied, and as it were labouring foureteene or fifteene houres a day poring on his booke, as some doe, as if he were a day-labouring man; neither doe I thinke it fit, if at any time, by reason of some solitarie or melancholy complexion, he should be seene with an over-indiscreet application given to his booke, it should be cherished in him; for, that doth often make him both unapt for civill conversation, and distracts him from better imployments: How many have I seene in my daies, by an over-greedy desire of knowledge, become as it were foolish? *Carneades* was so deeply plunged, and as I may say besotted in it, that he could never have leasure to cut his haire, or pare his nailes: nor would I have his noble manners obscured by the incivilitie and barbarisme of others. The French wisdom hath long since proverbially been spoken of, as verie apt to conceive study in her youth, but most unapt to keepe it long. In good truth, we see at this day, that there is nothing lovelier to behold, than the young children of *France*;

but for the most part, they deceive the hope which was fore-apprehended of them : for when they once become men, there is no excellencie at all in them. I have heard men of understanding hold this opinion, that the Colleges to which they are sent (of which there are store) doe thus besot them : whereas to our scholler, a cabinet, a gardin, the table, the bed, a solitarinesse, a companie, morning and evening, and all houres shall be alike unto him, all places shall be a study for him : for Philosophy (as a former of judgements, and modeler of customes) shall be his principall lesson, having the privilege to entermeddle her selfe with all things, and in all places. *Isocrates* the Orator, being once requested at a great banquet to speake of his art, when all thought he had reason to answer, said, *It is not now time to doe what I can, and what should now be done, I cannot doe it ;* For, to present orations, or to enter into disputation of Rhetorike, before a companie assembled together to be merrie, and make good cheere, would be but a medly of harsh and jarring musicke. The like may be said of all other Sciences. But touching Philosophy, namely in that point where it treateth of man, and of his duties, and offices, it hath been the common judgement of the wisest, that in regard of the pleasantnesse of her conversation, she ought not to be rejected, neither at banquets, nor at sports. And *Plato* having invited her to his solemne feast, we see how kindly she entertaineth the companie with a milde behaviour, fitly suting

A time for  
every-  
thing

**Mens** her selfe to time and place, notwithstanding it  
**sana in** be one of his learned'st and profitable discourses.  
**corpore**  
**sano**

*Æquè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquè,  
 Et neglecta æquè pueris senibusque nocebit.*

—HOR. i. Ep. i. 25.

Poore men alike, alike rich men it easeth,  
 Alike it scorned, old and young displeaseth.

So doubtlesse he shall lesse be idle than others; for even as the paces we bestow walking in a gallerie, although they be twice as many more, wearie us not so much as those we spend in going a set journey: So our lesson being past over, as it were, by chance, or way of encounter, without strict observance of time or place, being applied to all our actions, shall be digested, and never felt. All sports and exercises shall be a part of his study; running, wrestling, musicke, dancing, hunting, and managing of armes, and horses. I would have the exterior demeanor or decencie, and the disposition of his person to be fashioned together with his mind; for, it is not a mind, it is not a body that we erect, but it is a man, and we must not make two parts of him. And as *Plato* saith, *They must not be erected one without another, but equally be directed, no otherwise than a couple of horses matched to draw in one self-same teeme.* And to heare him, doth he not seem to imploy more time and care in the exercises of his bodie: and to thinke that the mind is together with the same exercised, and not the contrarie? As for other matters, this institution ought to be directed

by a sweet-severe mildnesse ; Not as some do, who in lieu of gently-bidding children to the banquet of letters, present them with nothing but horror and crueltye. Let me have this violence and compulsion removed, there is nothing that, in my seeming, doth more bastardise and dizzie a wel-borne and gentle nature : If you would have him stand in awe of shame and punishment, doe not so much enure him to it : accustome him patiently to endure sweat and cold, the sharpnesse of the wind, the heat of the sunne, and how to despise all hazards. Remove from him all nicenesse and quaintnesse in clothing, in lying, in eating, and in drinking : fashion him to all things ; that he prove not a faire and wanton-puling boy, but a lustie and vigorous boy : When I was a child, being a man, and now am old, I have ever judged and believed the same. But amongst other things, I could never away with this kind of discipline used in most of our Colleges. It had peradventure been lesse hurtfull, if they had somewhat inclined to mildnesse, or gentle intreatie. It is a verie prison of captivated youth, and proves dissolute, in punishing it before it be so. Come upon them when they are going to their lesson, and you heare nothing but whipping and brawling, both of children tormented, and masters besotted with anger and chafing. How wide are they, which go about to allure a childs mind to go to his booke, being yet but tender and fearefull, with a stearne-frowning countenance, and with hands-full of rods ? Oh wicked

Methods  
of dis-  
cipline

The laws and pernicious manner of teaching! which of Plato *Quintillian* hath very wel noted, that this imperious kind of authoritie, namely, this way of punishing of children, drawes many dangerous inconveniences within. How much more decent were it, to see their school-houses and formes strewed with greene boughes and flowers, than with bloody burchen-twigs? If it lay in me, I would doe as the Philosopher *Speusippus* did, who caused the pictures of Gladnesse and Joy, of *Flora*, and of the Graces, to be set up round about his school-house. Where their profit lieth, there should also be their recreation. Those meats ought to be sugred over, that are healthfull for childrens stomackes, and those made bitter that are hurtfull for them. It is strange to see how carefull *Plato* sheweth himselfe in framing of his lawes about the recreation and pastime of the youth of his Citie, and how far he extends himselfe about their exercises, sports, songs, leaping, and dancing, wherof he saith, that severe antiquitie gave the conduct and patronage unto the Gods themselves, namely, to *Apollo*, to the Muses, and to *Minerva*. Marke but how far-forth he endevoreth to give a thousand precepts to be kept in his places of exercises both of bodie and mind. As for learned Sciences, he stands not much upon them, and seemeth in particular to commend Poesie, but for Musickes sake. All strangenesse and self-particularitie in our manners and conditions, is to be shunned, as an enemy to societie and civill conversation.



Who would not be astonished at *Demophons* complexion, chiefe steward of *Alexanders* houshold, who was wont to sweat in the shadow, and quiver for cold in the sunne? I have seene some to startle at the smell of an apple, more than at the shot of a peece; some to be frighted with a mouse, some readie to cast their gorge at the sight of a messe of creame, and others to be scared with seeing a fetherbed shaken: as *Germanicus*, who could not abide to see a cock, or heare his crowing. There may haply be some hidden propertie of nature, which in my judgement might easilie be removed, if it were taken in time. Institution hath gotten this upon me (I must confesse with much adoe) for, except beere, all things else that are mans food agree indifferently with my taste. The bodie being yet souple, ought to be accommodated to all fashions and customes; and (alwaies provided, his appetites and desires be kept under) let a yong man boldly be made fit for al Nations and companies; yea, if need be, for al disorders and surfetings; let him acquaint himselfe with al fashions; That he may be able to do al things, and love to do none but those that are commendable. Some strict Philosophers commend not, but rather blame *Calisthenes*, for losing the good favour of his Master *Alexander*, only because he would not pledge him as much as he had drunke to him. He shall laugh, jest, dally, and debauch himselfe with his Prince. And in his debauching, I would have him out-go al his fellowes in vigor and constancie, and

Need of  
cosmopo-  
litanism

Flexi-  
bility of  
manners

that he omit not to doe evill, neither for want of strength or knowledge, but for lacke of will. *Multum interest, utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesciat: There is a great difference, whether one have no will, or no wit to doe amisse.* I thought to have honoured a gentleman (as great a stranger, and as far from such riotous disorders as any is in *France*) by enquiring of him in verie good companie, how many times in all his life he had bin drunke in *Germanie*, during the time of his abode there, about the necessarie affaires of our King; who tooke it even as I meant it, and answered three times, telling the time and manner how. I know some, who for want of that qualitie, have been much perplexed when they have had occasion to converse with that nation. I have often noted with great admiration, that wonderfull nature of *Alcibiades*, to see how easilie he could sute himselfe to so divers fashions, and different humors, without prejudice unto his health; sometimes exceeding the sumptuousnesse and pompe of the Persians, and now and then surpassing the austeritie and frugalitie of the Lacedemonians, as reformed in *Sparta*, as voluptuous in *Ionia*.

*Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res.*

—HOR. *Epist.* xvii. 23.

All colours, states, and things are fit  
For courtly *Aristippus* wit.

Such a one would I frame my Disciple,

—*quem duplici panno patientia velat,*

*Mirabor, vitæ via si conversa decebit,*—25.

Whom patience clothes with sutes of double kind,  
I muse, if he another way will find.

*Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque.*—29.

He not unfitly may,  
Both parts and persons play.

Discipline  
of living  
well

Loe here my lessons, wherein he that acteth them, profiteth more, than he that but knoweth them, whom if you see, you heare, and if you heare him, you see him. God forbid, saith some bodie in *Plato*, that to Philosophize, be to learne many things, and to exercise the arts. *Hanc amplissimam omnium artium bene vivendi disciplinam, vita magis quàm litteris persecuti sunt* (*Cic. Tusc. Qu. iv.*). *This discipline of living well, which is the amplest of all other arts, they followed rather in their lives, than in their learning or writing.* *Leo* Prince of the Phliasians, enquiring of *Heraclides Ponticus*, what art he professed, he answered, Sir, I professe neither art nor science; but I am a Philosopher. Some reproved *Diogenes*, that being an ignorant man, he did neverthesse meddle with Philosophie, to whom he replied, so much the more reason have I, and to greater purpose doe I meddle with it. *Hegesias* praid him upon a time to reade some booke unto him; *You are a merry man*, said he: As you chuse naturall and not painted right and not counterfeit figges to eat, why doe you not likewise chuse, not the painted and written, but the true and naturall exercises? He shall not so much repeat, as act his lesson. In his actions shall he make repetition of the same. We must observe, “whether there bee wisdome in his enterprises, integritie in his demeanor, modestie in his jestures, justice

**Action** in his actions, judgement and grace in his speech,  
**better** courage in his sicknesse, moderation in his sports,  
**than** temperance in his pleasures, order in the govern-  
**study** ment of his house, and indifferencie in his taste,  
 whether it be flesh, fish, wine, or water, or  
 whatsoever he feedeth upon." *Qui disciplinam*  
*suam non ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ*  
*putet: quique obtemperet ipse sibi, et decretis pareat*  
 (CIC. *ib.* ii.). *Who thinks his learning not*  
*an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life,*  
*and himselfe obayes himselfe, and doth what is*  
*decreed.*

The true mirror of our discourses, is the course  
 of our lives. *Xeuxidamus* answered one that  
 demaunded of him, why the Lacedemonians  
 did not draw into a booke, the ordinances of  
 prowesse, that so their yong men might read  
 them; *it is*, saith he, *because they would rather*  
*accustome them to deeds and actions, than to bookes*  
*and writings.* Compare at the end of fifteene or  
 sixteene yeares one of these collegiall Latinizers,  
 who hath imployed all that while onely in learn-  
 ing how to speake, to such a one as I meane.  
 The world is nothing but babling and words,  
 and I never saw man, that doth not rather  
 speake more than he ought, than lesse. Not-  
 withstanding halfe our age is consumed that way.  
 We are kept foure or five yeares learning to  
 understand bare words, and to joine them into  
 clauses, then as long in proportioning a great  
 bodie extended into foure or five parts; and five  
 more at least ere we can succinctly know how  
 to mingle, joine, and interlace them handsomly

into a subtil fashion, and into one coherent orbe. Let us leave it to those, whose profession is to doe nothing else. Being once on my journey toward *Orleans*, it was my chance to meet upon that plaine that lieth on this side *Clery*, with two Masters of Arts, traveling toward *Burdeaux*, about fiftie paces, one from another, far off behind them, I descrie a troupe of horsemen, their Master riding formost, who was the Earle of *Rochefocault*; one of my servants enquiring of the first of those Masters of arts, what Gentleman he was that followed him; supposing my servant had meant his fellow-scholler, for he had not yet seen the Earles traine, answered pleasantly, *He is no gentleman, Sir, but a Gramarian, and I am a Logitian*. Now, we that contrariwise seek not to frame a Gramarian, nor a Logitian, but a compleat gentleman, let us give them leave to mispend their time; we have else-where, and somewhat else of more import to doe. So that our Disciple be well and sufficiently stored with matter; words will follow apace, and if they will not follow gently, he shall hale them on perforce. I heare some excuse themselves, that they cannot expresse their meaning, and make a semblance that their heads are so full-stuft with many goodly things, but for want of eloquence they can neither utter nor make shew of them. It is a meere fopperie. And will you know what, in my seeming, the cause is? They are shadows and *Chimeraes*, proceeding of some formelesse conceptions, which they cannot distinguish or resolve within, and by consequence are not able to pro-

Gram-  
marian  
and Logi-  
cian not  
gentle-  
men

Imagina-  
tion will  
find  
words

duce them, in asmuch as they understand not themselves: And if you but marke their earnestnesse, and how they stammer and labour at the point of their deliverie, you would deeme, that what they go withall, is but a conceiving, and therefore nothing neere downelying; and that they doe but licke that imperfect and shapelesse lump of matter. As for me, I am of opinion, and *Socrates* would have it so, that he who hath a cleare and lively imagination in his mind, may easilie produce and utter the same, although it be in *Bergamask*, or *Welsh*, and if he be dumbe, by signes and tokens.

*Verbâque prævisam rem non invita sequentur.*

—HOR. *Art. Poet.* 311.

When matter we fore-know,  
Words voluntarie flow.

As one said, as poetically in his prose, *Cùm res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt* (SEN. *Controuv.* vii. Proæ.). *When matter hath possess their minds, they hunt after words*: and another: *Ipsæ res verba rapiunt.* *Things themselves will catch and carry words*: He knowes neither Ablative, Conjunctive, Substantive, nor Gramar, no more doth his Lackey, nor any Oyster-wife about the streets, and yet if you have a mind to it, he will intertaine you your fill, and peradventure stumble as little and as seldome against the rules of his tongue, as the best Master of arts in *France*. He hath no skill in Rhetoricke, nor can he with a preface fore-stall and captivate the Gentle Readers good will: nor careth he greatly to

know it. In good sooth, all this garish painting is easilie defaced, by the lustre of an in-bred, and simple truth; for these dainties and quaint devices, serve but to amuse the vulgar sort; unapt and incapable to taste the most solid and firme meat: *As Afer* verie plainly declareth in *Cornelius Tacitus*. The Ambassadors of *Samos* being come to *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, prepared with a long prolix Oration, to stir him up to war against the tyrant *Policrates*, after he had listned a good while unto them, his answer was: *Touching your Exordium or beginning I have forgotten it; the middle I remember not; and for your conclusion I will do nothing in it.* A fit, and (to my thinking) a verie good answer; and the Orators were put to such a shift, as they knew not what to reple. And what said another? the *Athenians* from out two of their cunning Architects, were to chuse one to erect a notable great frame: the one of them more affected and selfe-presuming, presented himselfe before them, with a smooth fore-premeditated discourse, about the subject of that piece of worke, and thereby drew the judgements of the common people unto his liking; but the other in few words, spake thus: *Lords of Athens, what this man hath said, I will performe.* In the greatest earnestnesse of *Ciceroes* eloquence many were drawn into a kind of admiration; But *Cato* jesting at it, said, *Have we not a pleasant Consull?* A quicke cunning Argument, and a wittie saying, whether it go before, or come after, it is never out of season. If it have no coherence

Worth of  
brevity

The comedy of Menander with that which goeth before, nor with what commeth after; it is good and commendable in it selfe. I am none of those that thinke a good Ryme, to make a good Poeme; let him hardly (if so he please) make a short syllable long, it is no great matter: if the invention be rare and good, and his wit and judgement have cunningly played their part. I will say to such a one; he is a good Poet, but an ill Versifier.

*Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus.*

—HOR. i. Sat. iv. 8. Lucil.

A man whose sense could finely pierce,  
But harsh and hard to make a verse.

Let a man (saith *Horace*) make his worke loose all seames, measures, and joynts.

*Tempora certa modòsque, et quod prius ordine verbum est,  
Posterius facias, præponens ultima primis:  
Invenias etiam disjecti membra Poetæ.*—58, 62.

Set times and moods, make you the first word last,  
The last word first, as if they were new cast:  
Yet find th' unjoynted Poets joints stand fast.

He shall for all that, nothing gain-say himselfe, every piece will make a good shew. To this purpose answered *Menander* those that chid him, the day being at hand, in which he had promised a Comedy, and had not begun the same, *Tut-tut*, said he, *it is alreadie finished, there wanteth nothing but to adde the verse unto it*: for, having ranged and cast the plot in his mind, he made small accompt of feet, of measures, or cadences of verses, which indeed are but of small



import in regard of the rest. Since great **Logical**  
*Ronzarde* and learned *Bellay*, have raised our quiddities  
 French Poesie unto that height of honour, where  
 it now is: I see not one of these petty-ballad-  
 makers, or prentise-dogrell rymers, that doth  
 not bumbast his labours with high-swelling and  
 heaven-disimbowelling words, and that doth not  
 marshall his cadences verie neere as they doe.  
*Plus sonat quàm valet* (SEN. *Epist.* xl.). *The*  
*sound is more than the weight or worth.* And  
 for the vulgar sort, there were never so many  
 Poets, and so few good: but as it hath been  
 easie for them to represent their rymes, so come  
 they far short in imitating the rich descriptions  
 of the one, and rare inventions of the other.  
 But what shall he doe, if he be urged with  
 sophisticall subtilties about a Sillogisme? A  
 gammon of Bacon makes a man drink, drinking  
 quencheth a mans thirst, *Ergo*, a gammon of  
 bacon quencheth a mans thirst. Let him mock  
 at it, it is more wittie to be mockt at, than  
 to be answered. Let him borrow this pleasant  
 counter-craft of *Aristippus*; *Why shall I unbind*  
*that, which being bound doth so much trouble me?*  
 Some one proposed certaine Logically quiddities  
 against *Cleanthes*, to whom *Chrisippus* said; use  
 such jugling tricks to play with children, and divert  
 not the serious thoughts of an aged man to such  
 idle matters. If such foolish wiles, *Contorta et*  
*aculeata sophismata* (CIC. *Acad. Qu.* iv.), *In-*  
*tricate and stinged sophismes*, must perswade a lie,  
 it is dangerous; but if they proove void of any  
 effect, and move him but to laughter, I see not

Mon- why he shall beware of them. Some there are  
 taigne so foolish that will go a quarter of a mile out  
 loves of the way to hunt after a quaint new word, if  
 an un- they once get in chace; *Aut qui non verba rebus*  
 affected speech *aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba*  
*convenient.* Or such as fit not words to matter,  
*but fetch matter from abroad, whereto words be*  
*fitted.* And another, *Qui alicuius verbi decore*  
*placentis, vocentur ad id quod non proposuerunt*  
*scribere* (SEN. *Epist.* lix.). *Who are allured by*  
*the grace of some pleasing word, to write that they*  
*intended not to write.* I doe more willingly winde  
 up a wittie notable sentence, that so I may sew  
 it upon me, than unwind my thread to go fetch  
 it. Contrariwise, it is for words to serve and  
 wait upon the matter, and not for matter to  
 attend upon words, and if the French tongue  
 cannot reach unto it, let the Gaskonie, or any  
 other. I would have the matters to surmount,  
 and so fill the imagination of him that harkneth,  
 that he have no remembrance at all of the words.  
 It is a naturall, simple, and unaffected speech  
 that I love, so written as it is spoken, and such  
 upon the paper, as it is in the mouth, a pithie,  
 sinnowie, full, strong, compendious and materiall  
 speech, not so delicate and affected, as vehement  
 and piercing.

*Hæc demum sapiet dictio, quæ feriet.*

—*Epitaph.* Lucan. 6.

In fine, that word is wisely fit,  
 Which strikes the fence, the marke doth hit.

Rather difficult than tedious, void of affection,

free, loose and bold, that every member of it seeme to make a bodie ; not Pedanticall, nor Frier-like, nor Lawyer-like, but rather downright, Souldier-like. As *Suetonius* calleth that of *Julius Cæsar*, which I see no reason wherefore he calleth it. I have sometimes pleased my selfe in imitating that licentiousnesse or wanton humour of our youths, in wearing of their garments ; as carelesly to let their cloaks hang downe over one shoulder ; to weare their cloakes scarfe or bawdrikewise, and their stockings loose hanging about their legs. It represents a kind of disdainfull fiercenesse of these forraine embellishings, and neglect carelesnesse of art : But I commend it more being employed in the course and forme of speech. All manner of affectation, namely in the liveness and libertie of *France*, is unseemly in a Courtier. And in a Monarchie every Gentleman ought to addresse himselfe unto a Courtiers carriage. Therefore do we well somewhat to incline to a native and carelesse behaviour. I like not a contexture, where the seames and pieces may be seene : As in a well compact bodie, what need a man distinguish and number all the bones and veines severally ? *Quæ veritati operam dat oratio, incomposita sit et simplex. Quis accuratè loquitur, nisi qui vult putidè loqui ?* (*SEN. Epist. xl. m. lxxv. p.*). The speech that intendeth truth must be plaine and unpollisht : Who speaketh elaborately, but he that meanes to speake unsavouredly ? That eloquence offereth injurie unto things, which altogether drawes us to observe it. As in apparell, it is a signe of pusillanimitie

All manner of affectation unseemly

Speech  
easily  
imitated

for one to marke himselfe, in some particular and unusuall fashion: so likewise in common speech, for one to hunt after new phrases, and unaccustomed-quaint words, proceedeth of a scholasticall and childish ambition. Let me use none other than are spoken in the hals of *Paris*. *Aristophanes* the Gramarian was somewhat out of the way, when he reprov'd *Epicurus*, for the simplicitie of his words, and the end of his art oratorie, which was onely perspicuitie in speech. The imitation of speach, by reason of the facilitie of it, followeth presently a whole nation. The imitation of judging and inventing, comes more slow. The greater number of Readers, because they have found one selfe-same kind of gowne, suppose most falsly to holde one like bodie. Outward garments and cloakes may be borrowed, but never the sinews and strength of the bodie. Most of those that converse with me, speake like unto these Essayes; but I know not whether they thinke alike. The Athenians (as *Plato* averreth) have for their part great care to be fluent and eloquent in their speech; The Lacedemonians endeavour to be short and compendious; And those of *Creet* labour more to bee plentiful in conceits, than in language. And these are the best. *Zeno* was wont to say, *That he had two sorts of disciples; the one he called φιλολόγους, curious to learne things*, and those were his darlings, the other he termed λογοφίλους, who respected nothing more than the language. Yet can no man say, but that to speake well, is most gracious and commendable,

but not so excellent as some make it : and I am grieved to see how we imploy most part of our time about that onely. I would first know mine owne tongue perfectly, then my neighbours with whom I have most commerce. I must needs acknowledge, that the Greeke and Latine tongues, are great ornaments in a Gentleman, but they are purchased at over-high a rate. Use it who list, I will tell you how they may be gotten better cheape, and much sooner than is ordinarily used, which was tried in my selfe. My late father, having by all the meanes and industrie, that is possible for man, sought amongst the wisest, and men of best understanding, to find a most exquisite and readie way of teaching, being advised of the inconveniences then in use ; was given to understand, that the lingring while, and best part of our youth, that we imploy in learning the tongues, which cost them nothing, is the onely cause we can never attaine to that absolute perfection of skill and knowledge, of the Greekes, and Romanes. I doe not beleeeve that to be the onely cause. But so it is, the expedient my father found out, was this ; that being yet at nurse, and before the first loosing of my tongue, I was delivered to a Germane (who died since, a most excellent Physitian in *France*) he being then altogether ignorant of the French tongue, but exquisitely readie and skilfull in the Latine. This man, whom my Father had sent for of purpose, and to whom he gave verie great entertainment, had me continually in his armes, and was mine onely overseer. There were also

The expedient  
of Montaigne's  
father

Montaigne's  
early  
Latin

joyned unto him two of his cuntrymen, but not so learned ; whose charge was to attend, and now and then, to play with me ; and all these together did never entertaine me with other than the Latine tongue. As for others of his household, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himselfe, nor my mother, nor man, nor maid-servant, were suffered to speake one word in my companie, except such Latine words, as every one had learned to chat and prattle with me. It were strange to tell how every one in the house profited therein. My Father and my Mother learned so much Latine, that for a need they could understand it, when they heard it spoken, even so did all the household servants, namely such as were neereest and most about me. To be short, we were all so Latinized, that the townes round about us had their share of it ; insomuch as even at this day, many Latine names both of workmen and of their tooles, are yet in use among them. And as for my selfe, I was about six yeares old, and could understand no more French or Perigordine, than Arabike, and that without art, without bookes, rules, or grammer, without whipping or whining. I had gotten as pure a Latine tongue as my Master could speake ; the rather because I could neither mingle or confound the same with other tongues. If for an Essay they would give me a Theme, whereas the fashion in Colleges is, to give it in French, I had it in bad Latine, to reduce the same into good. And *Nicholas Grucchi*, who hath written, *De comitiis Roman-*

orum, *William Guerenti*, who hath commented **and**  
*Aristotele*: *Georg Buchanan*, that famous Scottish **Greek**  
 Poet, and *Marke-Antonie Muret*, whom (while  
 he lived) both *France* and *Italie* to this day,  
 acknowledge to have been the best Orator: all  
 which have beene my familiar tutors, have often  
 told me, that in mine infancie I had the Latine  
 tongue so readie and so perfect, that themselves  
 feared to take me in hand. And *Buchanan*,  
 who afterward I saw attending on the Marshall  
 of *Brissacke*, told me, he was about to write a  
 treatise of the institution of children, and that he  
 tooke the model and patterne from mine: for, at  
 that time he had the charge and bringing up of  
 the young Earle of *Brissack*, whom since we have  
 seene prove so worthy and so valiant a Captaine.  
 As for the Greeke, wherein I have but small  
 understanding, my father purposed to make me  
 learne it by art; But by new and uncustomed  
 meanes, that is, by way of recreation and exer-  
 cise. We did tosse our declinations, and con-  
 jugations to and fro, as they doe, who by way  
 of a certaine game at tables learne both Arith-  
 metike and Geometrie. For, amongst other  
 things he had especially beene perswaded to  
 make me taste and apprehend the fruits of dutie  
 and science by an unforced kinde of will, and of  
 mine owne choice; and without any compulsion  
 or rigor to bring me up in all mildnesse and  
 libertie: yea with such kinde of superstition,  
 that, whereas some are of opinion, that suddenly  
 to awaken young children, and as it were by  
 violence to startle and fright them out of their

Mon- dead sleepe in a morning (wherein they are more  
taigne heavie and deeper plunged than we) doth greatly  
awak- trouble and distemper their braines, he would  
ened in every morning cause me to be awakened by the  
youth by sound of some instrument; and I was never  
music without a servant; Who to that purpose attended  
upon me. This example may serve to judge  
of the rest; as also to commend the judgement  
and tender affection of so carefull and loving a  
father: who is not to be blamed, though hee  
reaped not the fruits answerable to his exquisite  
toyle, and painefull manuring. Two things  
hindered the same; first the barrennesse and  
unfit soyle: for howbeit I were of a sound and  
strong constitution, and of a tractable and yeeld-  
ing condition, yet was I so heavie, so sluggish,  
and so dull, that I could not be rouzed (yea  
were it to goe to play) from out mine idle  
drowzinesse. What I saw, I saw it perfectly;  
and under this heavy, and as it were Lethe-  
complexion did I breed hardie imaginations, and  
opinions farre above my yeares. My spirit was  
very slow, and would goe no further than it  
was led by others; my apprehension blockish,  
my invention poore; and besides, I had a  
marvelous defect in my weake memorie: it is  
therefore no wonder, if my father could never  
bring me to any perfection. Secondly, as those  
that in some dangerous sicknesse, moved with a  
kind of hope-full and greedie desire of perfect  
health againe, give eare to every Leach or  
Emperike, and follow all counsels, the good  
man being exceedingly fearefull to commit any



oversight, in a matter he tooke so to heart, suffered himselfe at last to be led away by the common opinion, which like unto the Cranes, followeth ever those that go before, and yeelded to custome: Having those no longer about him, that had given him his first directions, and which they had brought out of *Italie*. Being but six yeares old I was sent to the College of *Guienne*, then most flourishing and reputed the best in *France*, where it is impossible to adde any thing to the great care he had, both to chuse the best and most sufficient Masters, that could be found, to reade unto me, as also for all other circumstances partaining to my education; wherein contrary to usuall customes of Colleges, he observed many particular rules. But so it is, it was ever a College. My Latin tongue was forthwith corrupted, whereof by reason of discontinuance, I afterward lost all manner of use: which new kind of institution, stood me in no other stead, but that at my first admittance, it made me to over-skip some of the lower formes, and to be placed in the highest. For at thirteene yeares of age, that I left the College, I had read over the whole course of Philosophie (as they call it) but with so small profit, that I can now make no account of it. The first taste or feeling I had of bookes, was of the pleasure I tooke in reading the fables of *Ovids* Metamorphosies; for, being but seven or eight yeares old, I would steale and sequester my selfe from all other delights, only to reade them: Forso-much as the tongue wherein they were written

Mon-  
taine at  
college

Classics  
preferred  
to Ro-  
mances

was to me naturall ; and it was the easiest booke I knew, and by reason of the matter therein contained most agreeing with my young age. For of King *Arthur*, of *Lancelot du Lake*, of *Amadis*, of *Huon of Burdeaux*, and such idle time consuming, and wit-besotting trash of bookes wherein youth doth commonly amuse it selfe, I was not so much as acquainted with their names, and to this day know not their bodies, nor what they containe : So exact was my discipline. Whereby I became more carelesse to studie my other prescript lessons. And well did it fall out for my purpose, that I had to deale with a very discreet Master, who out of his judgement could with such dexteritie winke at, and second my untowardlinesse, and such other faults that were in me. For by that meanes, I read over *Virgils Æneados*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and other Italian Comedies, allured thereunto by the pleasantnesse of their severall subjects : Had he beene so foolishly-severe, or so severely froward as to crosse this course of mine, I think verily I had never brought any thing from the College, but the hate and contempt of Bookes, as doth the greatest part of our Nobilitie. Such was his discretion, and so warily did he behave himselfe, that he saw and would not see : hee would foster and increase my longing : suffering me but by stealth, and by snatches to glut my selfe with those Bookes ; holding ever a gentle hand over me, concerning other regular studies. For, the chieftest thing my father required at their hands (unto whose

charge he had committed me) was a kinde of well conditioned mildenesse, and facilitie of complexion. And, to say truth, mine had no other fault, but a certaine dull languishing, and heaue slothfulnesse. The danger was not, I should doe ill, but that I should doe nothing.

Expecta-  
tions and  
suspi-  
cions

No man did ever suspect, I would prove a bad, but an unprofitable man: foreseeing in me rather a kind of idlenesse, than a voluntary craftinesse. I am not so selfe-conceited but I perceiue what hath followed. The complaints that are daily buzzed in mine eares are these; that I am idle, cold, and negligent in offices of friendship, and dutie to my parents, and kinsfolkes; and touching publike offices, that I am over singular and disdainfull. And those that are most injurious cannot aske, wherefore I have taken, and why I have not paid? but may rather demand, why I doe not quit, and wherefore I doe not give? I would take it as a fauour, they should wish such effects of supererogation in me. But they are unjust and over partiall, that will goe about to exact that from me, which I owe not, with more rigor than they will exact from themselves that which they owe; wherein if they condemne me, they utterly cancell both the gratifying of the action, and the gratitude, which thereby would be due to me. Whereas the active well doing should be of more consequence, proceeding from my hand, in regard I have no passive at all. Wherefore I may so much the more freely dispose of my fortune, by how much more it is mine, and of my selfe that

**Gentle manners and early acting** am most mine owne. Notwithstanding, if I were a great blazoner of mine owne actions, I might peradventure barre such reproches, and justly upbraid some, that they are not so much offended, because I doe not enough, as for that I may, and it lies in my power to doe much more than I doe. Yet my minde ceased not at the same time to have peculiar unto it selfe well settled motions, true and open judgements concerning the objects which it knew; which alone, and without any helpe or communication it would digest. And amongst other things I verily beleeeve, it would have proved altogether incapable and unfit to yeeld unto force, or stoope unto violence. Shall I account or relate this qualitie of my infancie, which was, a kinde of boldnesse in my lookes, and gentle softnesse in my voice, and affabilitie in my gestures, and a dexteritie in conforming my selfe to the parts I undertooke? for before the age of the

*Alter ab undecimo tum me vix ceperat annus :*  
—VIRG. *Buc. Ecl.* viii. 39.

Yeares had I (to make even.)  
Scarse two above eleven.

I have under-gone and represented the chiefest parts in the Latin Tragedies of *Buchanan*, *Guerenti*, and of *Muret*; which in great state were acted and plaid in our College of *Guienne*: wherein *Andreas Goveanus* our Rector principall; who as in all other parts belonging to his charge, was without comparison the chiefest Rector of *France*, and my selfe (without osten-

tation be it spoken) was reputed, if not a chiefe master, yet a principall Actor in them. It is an exercise I rather commend than disallow in young Gentlemen: and have seene some of our Princes (in imitation of some of former ages) both commendably and honestly, in their proper persons act and play some parts in Tragedies. It hath heretofore been esteemed a lawfull exercise, and a tolerable profession in men of honor, namely in *Greece*. *Aristoni tragico actori rem aperit: huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant: nec ars quia nihil tale apud Græcos pudori est, ea deformabat* (Liv. dec. iii. 4). *He imparts the matter to Ariston a Player of tragedies, whose progenie and fortune were both honest; nor did his profession disgrace them, because no such matter is a disparagement amongst the Græcians.*

The  
stage  
con-  
sidered  
honour-  
able

And I have ever accused them of impertinencie, that condemne and disallow such kindes of recreations, and blamed those of injustice, that refuse good and honest Comedians, or (as we call them) Players, to enter our good townes, and grudge the common people such publike sports. Politike and wel ordered commonwealths endeavor rather carefully to unite and assemble their Citizens together; as in serious offices of devotion, so in honest exercises of recreation. Common societie and loving friendship is thereby cherished and increased. And besides, they cannot have more formall and regular pastimes allowed them, than such as are acted and represented in open view of all, and in the presence of the magistrates themselves:

The value of theatres And if I might beare sway, I would thinke it reasonable, that Princes should sometimes, at their proper charges, gratifie the common people with them, as an argument of a fatherly affection, and loving goodnesse towards them: and that in populous and frequented cities, there should be Theatres and places appointed for such spectacles; as a diverting of worse inconveniences, and secret actions. But to come to my intended purpose, there is no better way than to allure the affection, and to entice the appetite: otherwise a man shall breed but asses laden with Bookes. With jerkes of rods they have their satchels full of learning given them to keepe. Which to doe well, one must not only harbor in himselfe, but wed and mary the same with his minde.

## CHAP. XXVI

It is follie to referre Truth or Falshood to  
our sufficiencie

IT is not peradventure without reason, that we ascribe the facilitie of beleeving and easines of perswasion, unto simplicitie and ignorance: For me seemeth to have learnt heretofore, that beliefe was, as it were an impression conceived in our minde, and according as the same was found either more soft, or of lesse resistance, it was easier to imprint any thing therein. *Ut*

*necesse est lancem in libra ponderibus impositis deprimi : sic animum perspicuis cedere* (CIC. *Acad. Qu. iv.*). *As it is necessarie a scale must goe downe the ballance when weights are put into it, so must a minde yeeld to things that are manifest.* Forasmuch therefore, as the minde being most emptie and without counterpoize, so much the more easily doth it yeeld under the burthen of the first perswasion. And that's the reason why children, those of the common sort, women, and sickefolks, are so subject to be mis-led, and so easie to swallow gudgeons. Yet on the other side it is a sottish presumption to disdaine and condemne that for false, which unto us seemeth to beare no shew of likelihood or truth : which is an ordinarie fault in those who perswade themselves to be of more sufficiency than the vulgar sort. So was I sometimes wont to doe, and if I heard any body speake, either of ghosts walking, of foretelling future things, of enchantments, of witchcrafts, or any other thing reported, which I could not well conceive, or that was beyond my reach.

Not all  
false-  
seeming  
things  
are false

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,  
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Thessali.*  
—HOR. ii. *Ep.* ii. 208.

Dreames, magike terrors, witches, uncouth-  
wonders,  
Night-walking sprites, *Thessalian* conjur'd-  
thunders.

I could not but feele a kinde of compassion  
to see the poore and seely people abused with

**We do  
not know  
all things**

such follies. And now I perceive, that I was as much to be moaned myselfe: Not that experience hath since made me to dicerne any thing beyond my former opinions: yet was not my curiositie the cause of it, but reason hath taught me, that so resolutely to condemne a thing for false, and impossible, is to assume unto himselfe the advantage, to have the bounds and limits of Gods will, and of the power of our common mother Nature tied to his sleeve: And that there is no greater folly in the world, than to reduce them to the measure of our capacitie, and bounds of our sufficiencie. If we terme those things monsters or miracles to which our reason cannot attaine, how many such doe daily present themselves unto our sight? Let us consider through what clouds, and how blinde-fold we are led to the knowledge of most things, that passe our hands: verily we shall finde, it is rather custome, than science that removeth the strangenesse of them from us:

—*jam nemo fessus saturusque videndi,  
Susplicere in cæli dignatur lucida templa.*—LUCR. ii.

Now no man tir'd with glut of contemplation,  
Deignes to have heav'ns bright Church in admiration.

And that those things, were they newly presented unto us, wee should doubtlesse deeme them, as much, or more unlikely, and incredible, than any other.

—*si nunc primum mortalibus adsint  
Ex improviso, ceu sint objecta, repente,  
Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,  
Aut minus antè quod auderent fore credere gentes.*



If now first on a sudden they were here  
 Mongst mortall men, object to eie or eare,  
 Nothing, than these things, would more  
     wondrous bee,  
 Or that, men durst lesse thinke, ever to see.

The evi-  
 dence of  
 the eyes

He who had never seene a river before, the first he saw, he thought it to be the *Ocean*: and things that are the greatest in our knowledge, we judge them to be the extremest that nature worketh in that kinde.

*Scilicet et fluvius qui non est maximus, ei est  
 Qui non antè aliquem majorem vidit, et ingens  
 Arbor homoque videtur, et omnia de genere omni  
 Maxima quæ vidit quisque, hæc ingentia fingit.*

—vi. 671.

A streame none of the greatest, may so seeme  
 To him, that never saw a greater streame.  
 Trees, men, seeme huge, and all things of all  
     sorts,  
 The greatest one hath seene, he huge reports.

*Consuetudine oculorum assuescunt animi, neque  
 admirantur, neque requirunt rationes earum rerum,  
 quas semper vident (Cic. Nat. De. ii.). Mindes  
 are acquainted by custome of their eies, nor do they  
 admire, or enquire the reason of those things which  
 they continually behold. The novelty of things  
 doth more incite us to search out the causes,  
 than their greatnesse: we must judge of this  
 infinit power of nature, with more reverence,  
 and with more acknowledgement of our owne  
 ignorance and weaknesse. How many things  
 of small likelihood are there, witnessed by men,  
 worthie of credit, whereof if we cannot be per-*

Ne quid  
nimis

swaded, we should at least leave them in suspense? For, to deeme them impossible, is by rash presumption to presume and know how farre possibilitie reacheth. If a man did well understand, what difference there is betweene impossibilitie, and that which is unwonted, and betweene that which is against the course of nature, and the common opinion of men, in not beleeving rashly, and in not disbeleeving easily; the rule of *Nothing too-much*, commanded by *Chilon*, should be observed. When we finde in *Froysard*, that the Earl of *Foix*, (being in *Bearne*) had knowledge of the defeature at *Inberoth*, of King *John* of *Castile*, the morrow next it hapned, and the meanes he alleageth for it, a man may well laugh at it: And of that which our *Annales* report, that Pope *Honorius*, the very same day that King *Philip Augustus* died at *Mantes*, caused his publike funerals to be solemnized, and commanded them to be celebrated throughout all *Italie*. For, the authoritie of the witnesses hath peradventure no sufficient warrant to restraine us. But what if *Plutarke*, besides divers examples which he alleageth of antiquitie, saith to have certainly knowne, that in *Domitians time*, the newes of the battle lost by *Antonius* in *Germany* many daies journeies thence, was published at *Rome*, and divulged through the world, the very same day it succeeded: And if *Cæsar* holds, that it hath many times happened, that report hath foregone the accident: Shall we not say, that those simple people have suffered themselves to be cousened and seduced by

the vulgar sort, because they were not as clearesighted as we? Is there any thing more daintie, more unspotted, and more lively than *Plinies* judgement, whensoever it pleaseth him to make shew of it? Is there any farther from vanitie? I omit the excellencie of his learning and knowledge, whereof I make but small reckoning: in which of those two parts doe we exceed him? Yet there is no scholler so meanelly learned, but will convince him of lying, and read a lecture of contradiction against him upon the progresse of natures works. When wee read in *Bouchet* the myracles wrought by the reliques of Saint *Hillarie*, his credit is not sufficient to barre us the libertie of contradicting him: yet at randon to condemne all such like histories, seemeth to me a notable impudencie. That famous man Saint *Augustine* witnesseth to have seene a blinde childe to recover his sight, over the reliques of Saint *Gervase* and *Protaise* at *Milane*: and a woman at *Carthage*, to have beene cured of a canker, by the signe of the holy Crosse, which a woman newly baptized made unto her: and *Hesperius* a familiar friend of his, to have expelled certaine spirits, that molested his house, with a little of the earth of our Saviours sepulcher; which earth being afterwards transported into a Church, a Paralitike man was immediately therewith cured: and a woman going in procession, having as she past by with a nose-gaie toucht the case wherein Saint *Stevens* bones were, and with the same afterward rubbed her eies, she recovered her sight, which long before

Credible  
and  
incredible  
histories

Difficul- she had utterly lost : and divers other examples,  
ties of where he affirmeth to have beene an assistant  
belief himselfe. What shal we accuse him of, and  
two other holy Bishops, *Aurelius* and *Maximinus*,  
whom he calleth for his witnesses? Shal it be  
of ignorance, of simplicity, of malice, of facility,  
or of imposture? Is any man living so impu-  
dent, that thinks he may be compared to them,  
whether it be in vertue or piety, in knowledge  
or judgement, in wisdome or sufficiency? *Qui  
ut rationem nullam afferrent, ipsa autoritate me  
frangerent* (Cic. Div. i.): *Who though they  
alleged no reason, yet might subdue me with their  
very authoritie.* It is a dangerous fond hardi-  
nesse, and of consequence, besides the absurd  
temerity it drawes with it, to despise what we  
conceive not. For, after that according to your  
best understanding, you have established the  
limits of truth, and bounds of falshood, and  
that it is found, you must necessarily beleieve  
things, wherein is more strangenesse, than in  
those you deny; you have alreadie bound your  
selfe to abandon them. Now that which me  
thinkes brings as much disorder in our con-  
sciences, namely in these troubles of religion  
wherein we are, is the dispensation Catholikes  
make of their beliefe. They suppose to shew  
themselves very moderate and skilfull, when they  
yeeld their adversaries any of those articles now  
in question. But besides that, they perceive not  
what an advantage it is for him that chargeth  
you, if you but once begin to yeeld and give  
them ground; and how much that encorageth

him to pursue his point: those articles which they chuse for the lightest, are oftentimes most important. Either a man must wholly submit himselfe to the authoritie of our Ecclesiasticall policie, or altogether dispencc himselfe from it: It is not for us to determine what part of obedience we owe unto it. And moreover, I may say it, because I have made triall of it, having sometimes used this libertie of my choice, and particular election, not regarding certaine points of the observance of our Church, which seeme to beare a face, either more vaine, or more strange; comming to communicate them with wise men, I have found that those things have a most solid and steadie foundation, and that it is but foolishnesse and ignorance, makes us receive them with lesse respect and reverence than the rest. Why remember we not, what, and how many contradictions we finde and feelee even in our owne judgement? How many things served us but yesterday as articles of faith, which to day we deeme but fables? Glory and curiositie are the scourges of our soules. The latter induceth us to have an oare in every ship, and the former forbids us to leave any thing unresolved or undecided.

Glory  
and  
curiosity  
are our  
scourges

*There was a kind of fascination, an actually aesthetic beauty, in the spectacle of that keen-edged intelligence, dividing evidence so finely, like some exquisite steel instrument with impeccable sufficiency, always leaving the last word loyally to the central intellectual faculty, in an entire disinterestedness.*

WALTER PATER : *Gaston de Latour.*

From the chapter entitled 'Suspended Judgment,' in which Pater sums up the philosophy of Montaigne.

*The present issue of Florio's translation of "Montaigne's ESSAYS" has been edited by Mr. A. R. Waller, who has revised the text, and added the Marginalia, Glossary, and Notes.*

*The Third Folio (1632) has been taken as the basis of the edition, but the French original and the earlier English editions have been carefully collated, and an attempt has been made in the direction of a critical text.*

*The accompanying Notes indicate, somewhat at least, the editor's critical treatment of the oft-reprinted 1632 edition. The accumulated errors due to careless printers and editors have, it is hoped, been eliminated from Florio's text as now put forth.*

I. G.

*St. Valentine's Day, 1897.*

*His Essays are among the few works that really and literally make life more opulent with accumulated experience, criticism, reflection, humour. He gives of his rich nature, his lavish exuberance of character, out of that fresh and puissant century to this rather weary one. . . . He has at bottom the intense melancholy, the looking forward to the end of all, which is the ground-note of the poetry of Villon, and of Ronsard, as of the prose of Chateaubriand.*

*He is one of the last authors whom modern taste learns to appreciate. He is a man's author, not a woman's ; a tired man's, not a fresh man's. We all come to him late indeed, but at last, and rest in his panelled library.*

ANDREW LANG : *Lost Leaders.*



## NOTES

*Portrait.*—Etched for the present issue by Mr. H. Crickmore, after the portrait in oils preserved in the Chateau de Montaigne. The signature is a copy of that affixed to Montaigne's marriage certificate.

*Contents.*—The titles of the chapters given in the Table differ slightly from those given at the head of the respective chapters. They so differ in the Folios; and the spelling throughout is, of course, inconsistent: *e.g.*, *Falsehood*, p. vi., appears as *Falsehood* in the 1st Folio, as *Falshood* in the 2nd, and (probably a misprint) as *Falshhood* in the 3rd.

*Florio's Prefaces, etc.*, and the Index that was added to the 3rd Folio, will be found in the Appendix to vol. vi. of the present edition, together with a Table of Dates and Bibliographical Notes, etc.

*Texts.*—The three Folios of Florio are indicated in the Notes thus: A = 1603; B = 1613; C = 1632. For the sake of brevity, M = Montaigne.

*Quotations.*—The text and references are given as in C, save that a few trifling misprints have been corrected. The references often vary from those given in French texts of Montaigne, and the numbering of the lines, etc., sometimes differs from that of the best modern classical texts. It should also be borne in mind that Montaigne himself occasionally altered words in his quotations. The translations of the quotations are Florio's.

*Page*

2. *prostrating* . . . *slaughter*, abandoned to slaughter.
4. *absolved and quit, etc.*, pardoned Pelopidas but grudgingly . . . although he yielded, etc.
4. *take their lots, i.e.*, balls or voting-papers. Read on, "in hand, but broke up the assembly, much commending," etc.

## Page

6. *noting*, A and B; nothing, C.
7. *to yeeld*, and, however stricken with wounds.
7. *remaining bloud*, blood capable of being shed.
9. *qualitie and interest*, qualitie of interest.
9. *By misery*: By, A and B; But, C.
12. *power of . . . and slight*, A and B; omitted in C.
14. *sage*, the ideal "wise man"; age, in A, B, and C.
15. *as theirs*, as their memory; *i.e.*, that no distinction is made between the remembrance of the good and bad.
15. *and . . . order*, let us grant so much to political government.
16. *Helotes*, Ilotes, A; Heotes, B and C.
16. *in order*, to rank.
17. *body*, A and B; omitted in C.
17. *of those*, from those; *i.e.*, through Veronese territory.
18. *posterity*, ashes; "reliques," M.
18. After "carry them about him" add "with his army."
18. *opinions*; "erreurs," M.
24. *punished him*, punished them . . . made them.
30. *the appointed*, having appointed the.
31. After "as a law" add "if their enemies do not yield and come to an agreement."
32. *shelter of blowes*, shelter from blows.
33. *subvert the same*, bury the besieged.
33. *unto . . . troupe*, to whose discretion he had yeelded, etc.
34. *to trust . . . armie*, to intrust to the licence of a victorious army the keeping of faith that a man has given to a city which has surrendered upon easy and favourable terms, and to permit the free entrance of soldiers, in the heat of blood.
35. l. 20. Omit "For."
35. l. 22. Omit "from him." This should be a fresh paragraph.
36. *yeeld unto the measure of his dispensation*, agree with the licence he allows.
38. After "Suffolke" add "of the White Rose."
39. *establish*, remedy.
40. *heinous conceit or affection*, malevolent feeling (omit "and affection" in the next line).
40. *extending life*, extending the life of it; *i.e.*, making their hatred live longer than themselves.

## Page

- 40-41. *As we . . . imagination.* The quotation marks are not in M.
41. *upraised*, A; unpraised, B and C.
42. *now*, henceforth.
43. *From . . . memorie*, they take away from my affection because of my memory.
44. *worldly*, A; wordly, B and C.
45. After "sing" add "three times in his ear."
46. *contrarie*, M; certaine, A, B, and C.
47. *Verily . . . crime.* The quotation marks are not in M.
51. The quotation is from a poem by Estienne de la Boëtie, M.'s great friend.
51. *according to the advantage of*, which are most proper for.
54. *sound*, A; second, B and C.
56. *to doe it, i.e.*, to change sides.
57. *which long . . . defended*, after a long struggle and defence.
58. *And . . . wrong*, And, on the contrary, those who believe this word [which follows] are in the wrong.
60. Omit "mentioned in."
61. *impulsion of will*, A; *or will*, B and C.
71. Add "but what" before "we doe against our conscience."
71. last line, *who*. The antecedent is the Emperor Julian.
73. *forsooke*, A and B; *fosooke*, C.
73. *Cæsar displaisth his invention at large, i.e.*, discourses at length.
74. *to glosse and censure*, to comment rudely and magisterially.
74. After "I beleeve them" add "more willingly."
76. *whereof . . . something*, and it seemed that he really believed this somewhat.
77. The sentence should end at "businessse."
80. *which . . . fields, i.e.*, he had fled into the country for three hundred paces from the hole in the wall.
80. *passion or rage*, A; *passion rage*, B and C.
81. *She casts . . . duty and honor, i.e.*, Fear throws us back on the energy of despair after having seduced us from all sense of duty and honour.
82. *which is beyond the error of our discourse*, "that is to say, 'which is not caused by an error of our judgment.'"  
—*Coste*.
83. *told him, i.e.*, Cræsus gave him to understand.

## Page

84. *the fairest Queene*, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots.
87. *I have seene . . . aspired*. M. is doubtless speaking of his friend Estienne de la Boëtie, who died in 1563.
87. *with a*, of a.
87. *thought . . . them*, had nothing so high as their interruption; *i.e.*, the cessation of his life was even more supreme than its continuance.
88. *Although they say, etc.*, Whatever they may say, the chief thing at which we aim, even in virtue, is pleasure.
89. *sacietie* (= satiety), printed *societie* in A, B, and C.
89. *ennoble*, A; *ennobled*, B and C.
89. *mediates*, A; *meditates*, B and C.
90. *perceived . . . qualitie*, felt to be of the quality.
92. *with what . . . endure him*, how they [paine and feare] sap his judgment and render him unfit to make his will.
93. *long since thou livest*, thou hast lived for a long time.
94. Pope Clement V. was the neighbour, previously Archbishop of Bordeaux. The sentence should mean, "as whilome he [*i.e.*, the Duke] was, at the entry of my neighbour, Pope Clement, into Lyons."
95. *Platonian*, A; *Plantonian*, B and C.
95. *his last, i.e.*, his last day.
97. *Prop.*, A; *Propat*, B and C.
97. *begin to take*, A and B; *being to take*, C.
100. Add "very vigorously" after "enjoied."
101. *his children*, his son.
101. *shake*. A, B, and C have "spake," but M. has "desprint," and therefore the sense is "shake off, lose hold of."
104. The sentence ends at *divers deaths*. Read on, "He who would teach men to die would teach them to live."
104. *is it nothing*, A and B; *it is nothing*, C.
104. *lesse undanted*, less terrified.
105. *sight*, A; *night*, B and C.
106. *stooping*, A and B; *stopping*, C.
106. The passage in brackets should properly come after the words "she may boast."
106. *indulgence*, indigence.
107. *there is no more*, is there no more.

## Page

- 108-114. The whole passage, from "Depart (saith she,)" to "only the last comes to it" (and not merely the beginning and ending lines put by F. in italic), is in quotation marks in M., as being a summary of the precepts of Nature. The sentence of Thales, therefore, on p. 114, ends with the word "indifferent."
109. *you steal it from death, from life.*
111. *So may you live long enough, however long you may live.*
111. *please, place.*
113. *ending, avoiding.*
116. *holy, healthy; "saines," M.*
116. *that she brings, i.e., imagination brings.*
- 119-120. *that did any . . . himselfe againe*, that he had to be called, beaten, etc., until he came to himself again. "Qu'on avoit beau le tempester, et hurler, et le pincer, et le griller, jusques à ce qu'il feust ressuscité."—M.
120. After "as he least looked for it" add "finding himself similarly placed," and omit "and wrought him no small shame."
123. *caudle, B; candle, A and C.* It was a French custom to bring a bridegroom a meal in the middle of the wedding night.
124. *Pythagoras his neece*, daughter-in-law.
125. *apprehending . . . desperation of*, being startled and in despair because of.
126. *gormandize . . . condemnation*, rebuke sharply ["gourmander," M.] his rebellion, and draws proof therefrom for his condemnation.
127. After "to feed upon" add "and."
127. After "Vives" add "his commentator."
127. *inferreth, inferreth not.*
130. *a Gentlewoman, A; the Gentlewoman, B and C.*
133. *If I come, etc., i.e.*, If I do not use examples which belong exactly to the subject of which I treat, let another substitute those more suitable.—*Coste.*
133. *insight, ignorance; inscience, M.*
133. *that it may well become a Divine*, whether it may, etc.
133. *their credit upon a popular reputation*, their belief upon a popular belief; "leur foy sur une foy populaire," M.; "otherwise" is not in M.

## Page

135. Perhaps a colon after "everie where true" would make the sentence easier, and separate the work of others from the work of Plutarch himself.
136. After "a young calfe" add "from the hour of its birth."
137. *quit their arts reason by authoritie*, B and C; to her authoritie, A; submit the reasons of their art to her authority.
138. *what our neighbours, etc.*, what is reported of the people who live near the Cataracts, etc.
138. *that sound, i.e.*, of the Cataracts.
138. *neere unto a tower*, in a tower.
140. *my wife or children*, my wife and my daughter.
140. *nor*, A and B; not, C.
141. After "given him" add "for he earned his living by exhibiting himself."
143. *stay himselfe upon the discourses, etc.*, settle down to reflection about his own examples; "se coucher sur les propres," M.
146. *neighbouring people*, people dependent upon the Prince.
148. *so that they pay ready money*, for hire.
149. *contemned*, A; condemned, B and C.
151. *mediation*, A; meditation, B and C.
152. *having ever bin from her beginning*, searching always into its origin; "questant tousjours jusques à son origine," M.
153. After "sanctuarie of custome" add "there puffing themselves out and triumphing their fill."
154. The sentence beginning "But according" would be clearer if "is very strange" were omitted at the end of it; this sentence is really the second clause of the one beginning "Not according."
155. The words "in many things very contrarie" follow on after "justice," without a break; there should be a break between "contrarie" and "do those."
158. *disolved by it, i.e.*, by innovations.
158. After "enterprises" add "and that happens to us which Thucydides said of the civil wars of his time."
159. *mysterie*, administration.
163. *by her lawes*, at the expense of her laws.
163. *ordained them, i.e.*, the laws.

## Page

164. *maritime*, A; *maritime*, B and C.
165. *you should but marre all*, you would but make it worse for yourself.
166. The words "*of your religion*" are not in M.
168. *Scipio*, A; *Cæpio*, *Scæpio*, B and C.
174. *contemne*, A; *condemne*, B and C.
174. *informe* . . . *of it*, B and C; *informe* against him, A; "d'en informer," M.
174. *heedy diffidence*, B and C; *heady defiance*, A; "*desfiance si attentive*," M.
176. *contrariwise*. This refers to the sentence on the previous page beginning "A wisdome so tenderly precise."
177. *requiring sute* . . . *demonstrative resolution*, *entreaty* . . . *remonstrance*.
- 178-179. *It was determined* . . . *profitable confidence*. The meaning of Montaigne would seem to be that the place was unsafe for the officers reviewing, that these officers should show no fear, but mix boldly amongst the files of soldiers, and, instead of holding back fire, the minor captains should be ordered to see that the soldiers made fine salvoes, or volleys [not sallies], in honour of the assistants or spectators.
184. *Grandfathers*, *forefathers*.
185. *beyond*, *beneath*; in contradistinction to "*beyond*," p. 184, *penult*.
186. *that serveth*, that distinction *serveth*.
190. *villior*, A, B, and C; *mollior*, M.
191. *ten or twelve*: fifteen or sixteen, M.
191. *world*, A and B; *word*, C.
193. *Should live*, A and B; *Shoud live*, C.
193. *incivilized*, *civilized*.
196. *but those lesse*, with the exception of those.
197. *according to the fault of the vessel*, if the vessel be faulty.
197. *seeth*, A; *seeketh*, B and C.
198. *As soone* . . . *nothing*. The quotation marks are not in M.
199. *they must* . . . *and best*, they must justify their decision: "*il falloit raisonner leur dire*," M.
199. Omit "not" before "only," A; not only, B and C.
205. After "a loofe-off" add "Saying, 'Yes, that is true.'"

## Page

208. *I never spake, etc.*, I never quote from others save to express my own thoughts better.—*Lefèvre*.
209. *greatest . . . knowledge*, greatest and most important difficulty of all human knowledge.
210. *how they . . . knew them*, B and C; how they have degenerated, and false from themselves, and deceived, etc., A. “Combien ils se sont disconvenus à eulx mesmes,” M.
211. The Torquato Tasso passage in square brackets is not in M.
215. *taking his . . . by Plato*, judging of his progress after the pedagogic method followed by Socrates in the dialogues of Plato.—*Lefèvre*.
215. The sentence in square brackets is not in M.
215. *he held this infallible position*, the most general of his dogmas was.
216. *scholler*, A and B; *scholles*, C.
216. *followeth another . . . seeketh nothing*, followeth another followeth nothing, findeth nothing, nay, seeketh nothing.
216. The phrase “Let him at least know that he knoweth” is M.’s, and should not be attached to the translation of the quotation.
216. *It is requisite . . . their precepts*: He should imbibe their knowledge, not learn their precepts; *i.e.*, the spirit, not the letter, is needful.
217. For “alwaies provided” read “that is to say”; a colon is needed at “judgment.”
219. “*curtezan*” is not in M.
221. *enured*, C; *endured*, A and B.
222. *mischiefe and extortion*, the whip and the halter; “*d’escourgees et de la chorde*,” M.
229. *see them*, *i.e.*, the intestine broils.
230. The semicolon should come after “imagined”; there should be no break between “circle” and “but.”
232. *bondage . . . libertie*, servitude and subjection, licence and liberty.
232. *most profitable*, unprofitable; “*trèsinutiles*,” M.
234. *bite*, A; *bide*, B and C.
240. *some base occupation*. M. specifically says “pastry-cook.”



*Page*

243. *when all . . . answer*, all thought he had reason in replying.
- 249-250. *whether . . . upon*. The quotation marks are not in M.
251. Read "the late Earle of Rochefocault."
255. *But what shall he doe*. M. now turns back to his subject, the young pupil.
260. *to play with me*, to relieve him; "soulager le premier," M.
263. *and which they*, whom he.
264. *think*, A and B; *thing*, C.
274. *of simplicity, . . . of imposture*. A closer following of M. would be "of simplicity, of facility; or of malice and imposture."

# INDEX OF WORDS

In the case of words of frequent occurrence the first appearance is, as a rule, the only one given.

A = Florio, 1603; B = Florio, 1613; C = Florio, 1632; M = Montaigne.

- ACCOASTINGS, approaches, 68.  
 ACCOMMODATED AND LEFT, lent and abandoned, 156.  
 ACCORD, armistice, 32, 34, 36; tune, 191.  
 ACCORDS, harmony, 157.  
 ACCOUNT, "make a.," reckon, be sure, 6.  
 ACCREASE, increase, 101.  
 ACQUAINTED WITH, used to, 138.  
 ADVANTAGED, aided, 18.  
 ADVERTISE, to inform, teach, warn, 12, etc.  
 ADVISED, took counsel, 3; resolved, 63, 122; informed, 62, 259.  
 ADVISEDNESS, circumspection, 75.  
 AFFEARD, afraid, 91.  
 AFFECTED TO, inclined towards, 3, 51, 104.  
 AFFECTION, disturbance of spirit, 81.  
 AFFIANCE, trust, 176.  
 AFFIRMED, "which Cæsar a.," as Cæsar says, 104.  
 ALIAS, in the sense of "(living) at another time," 93.  
 ALIKE, the same, 12, 258.  
 ALLAYING, disguising, 153.  
 ALLEAGE, to quote, 14, etc.  
 ALLIES, avenues, 237.  
 ALLOWED, approved, 180.  
 A LOOFE-OFF, at a distance, 205.  
 AMPHIBOLOGIE, ambiguity, 200.  
 ANATOMIE, dried "carkasse cut up" (*Cotgrave*), possibly a skeleton, 98.  
 ANCIENT, ensign, colour-bearer, 69, 79; ensign, flag, 80.  
 ANY THING, in any way, 91.  
 APPARENCE, appearance, show, 34, etc.  
 APPOSE, examine, 204.  
 APPRENTISAGE, beginning, 88, 158.  
 ARGO-LETTIERS, horse soldiers of comparatively mean rank, 230.  
 ASSAIES, "at all a.," at all points, 51.  
 ASSAY, ASSAYED, try, tried, 2, etc.  
 ASTERS, stars, 138.  
 AS THE KNOWLEDGE, that the k., 212.  
 ASTONIE, astonish, 10, 12, 80.  
 ASTONIED, horrified, 152.  
 AS WELL AS, as much as, 113.  
 AUGUR, omen, 139.  
 AUTHORIZE, justify, 127.  
 AVOWETH, admitted, 62.  
 AWFULL, reverential, 21.  
 BACKE-RECOURSE, turning back, 55.  
 BAG-PIPE, an oaten pipe or reed (*M. chalemie*), 188.  
 BALES, balls, 27.  
 BANDIED, tossed, a term used in tennis, 70.  
 BAROCO AND BARALIPTON, "two terms of ancient scholastic logic" (*Le Clerc*), 236.  
 BARRE, repel, 266; barre us, forbid us, 273.  
 BAWDRIKEWISE, after the fashion of a belt or baldric that passed over one shoulder and round the opposite side, 257.  
 BEARETH, "the custome b.," it is the custom, 31.

BEDRELL, bedridden, 93.  
 BEING TO REPRESENT, having to r., 9.  
 BERGAMASK, a province in the state of Venice, the inhabitants of which were reputed clownish in dialect, 252.  
 BESIDES, although, 186.  
 BEWRAY, betray, 126.  
 BEYOND, above, 35.  
 BIRD-PROPHETS, augurs, 55.  
 BLEARE US, dim our eyes, 152; bleare, deceive, 207.  
 BOLLEIN, Boulogne, 70.  
 BONDS, "these pleasant b." (*nouve-ments d'équillettes*, M.), knots tied at a wedding on strips of material, and when passed through the wedding ring thought to prevent the consummation of marriage until they were untied, 120.  
 BORNE MY FOE, my foe by birth, 168.  
 BRADAMANT, OR ANGELICA, two heroines of Ariosto, 238.  
 BRAVING, taunting, 5.  
 BRUTALL, brutish, 92.  
 BUMBAST, swell out, 255.  
 BUMBASTING, artificial padding, originally cotton used for stuffing, 228.  
 BYASE, inclination, tendency, a term in bowls, 230, 232.  
 CAITIFE WRETCH, captive, 6.  
 CANKER, cancer, 273.  
 CANVASE, plead, discuss, 212.  
 CARCANETS, head-gear, 238.  
 CARRIERE, career, course, running a charge, a tournament term, 42, 44, 52; race, life, 92.  
 CARKE, trouble, anxiety, 107, 186.  
 CARROLS, dances, 138.  
 CARTELL, challenge, 28.  
 CATES, delicacies, dainties, 149.  
 CAUTERIE, cauterization (A, costiveness), 221.  
 CELESTIAL MUSICKE, the supposed musical sound attending the rotation of the planets, a Pythagorean idea, 138.  
 CHAFE, knit the brows, 235.  
 CHARGE, "penitence ought to c.," requires penalty, 39; employment, 4, etc.; expense, 22, etc.  
 CHARGEABLY, heavily, 39.

CHARGING, upbraiding, 4.  
 CHEAPE, "better c.," at an easier rate, 259.  
 CHIDE, make a loud noise, 119.  
 CHIEFLY, absolutely, 77.  
 CHIMERAES, wild schemes, 42, etc.  
 CHOCKE, violent charge, 94.  
 CICATRICES, stigmata, 119.  
 CIRCUMSTANCES, "without more c.," i.e. immediately, 50.  
 CLEAN, complete, 44; completely, 232.  
 COCKER, "to c.," to pamper, 220, 222.  
 COLOURABLE, specious, 49, etc.  
 COMBINING, unity, 158.  
 COMMODITIE, advantage, benefit, viii. etc.  
 COMPETENCIE, agreement, sufferance (M. *concurrence*), 89.  
 COMPLEXION, "by his owne c.," naturally, 175; character, 200, etc.  
 COMPLIT, negotiate, 75; conspiracy, 126, etc.  
 COMPOSITION, arrangement, 34, etc.  
 COMPULSION, constraint, 20.  
 CONCEIT, belief, thought, idea, 26, etc.; brains, 153.  
 CON'D . . . ROAT, learned by heart, 52.  
 CONDITIONS, qualities, attributes, viii. etc.  
 CONDOLED AND COMPLAINED, bewailed, 57.  
 CONDUCT, arrangement, 209.  
 CONFERRETH, contributes, 114.  
 CONFOUND, abate, unravel (M. *ra-battre*), 200.  
 CONSEQUENCE, "by c.," consequently, 45, etc.  
 CONSTANCIE, strength, 143.  
 CONSTANTLY, tranquilly, 87.  
 CONSTER, construe, conjecture, 76, 139.  
 CONTENTION, effort, viii.  
 CONTRACTION, convulsion, 65.  
 CONTRIVING, making, viii.  
 CONVENIENT, suitable, necessary, 14, etc.  
 CORPORALL OATH, an oath taken with the hand upon the corporal or cloth upon which the Sacred Elements of the Eucharist are placed, 134.

- COSEN-GERMAN, akin, 21, 122, 191.  
 COUNTERCOSIN, deceive, 125.  
 COUNTERCRAFT, evasion, the answering of a fool according to his folly, 255.  
 COUNTERPOISE, equality, 69.  
 COUNTERVAILE, equal, 167.  
 COUSIN, cozen, to cheat, 139, etc.  
 COVER-FEW, curfew, 138.  
 COYFED, the head covered, 238.  
 CRAZED, broken down, 93, 100, 105.  
 CREDENCE, "letters of c.," *i.e.* credentials, 49; bonds, guarantees, 176.  
 CULVERIN, cannon of the 16th century, 64, 69.  
 CUNNING, learned, 199.  
 CUNNINGLY, skilfully, 204, 229.  
 CURSORIE, cursorily, 75.  
  
 DEDUCTION, account, 49.  
 DEFEATE, evasion, 159.  
 DEMEANE, conduct, 87.  
 DEMISSE, humble, 4, 178.  
 DEMONS, spirits, 145.  
 DEMURRETH, adjourned, 95.  
 DENOUNCED, proclaimed, 31.  
 DESCANT, vary, 215.  
 DEVICES, *M. nouvelletez*, a legal term meaning interruptions; "a new, or late interruption, or impeachment of possession" (*Cotgrave*); A and B, devises; 223.  
 DEVOIRE, duty, 227.  
 DILATE, expand, 10, 93.  
 DINT, point, edge, 2.  
 DISARMED, uncovered, the armour taken off, 10.  
 DISCOURSE, reason, judgment, 13, etc.  
 DISCOVER, reveal, show, 49, 137, 208.  
 DISCRETION, "by d.," at will, 59, 67.  
 DISMALL, mortal, deadly, 147.  
 DOLPHIN, Dauphin, 69.  
 DOORE-SEELE, door-sill, 95.  
 DRIFT, purpose, aim, 56, 165, 187.  
  
 EACH-WHERE, everywhere, 162.  
 EFFECT, "in e.," in the end, 51.  
 EMPAIR, make worse, 43, 117, 191.  
 EMPAIRING, decay, 105.  
 ENCOUNTER, meet together, 90.  
 ENDEARE, commend, justify, 152, 153.  
  
 ENDEARETH, enriches, fortifies, 127.  
 ENFEOFFED, established, 215; incorporated, 189.  
 ENFRANCHIZED AND GAINFUL, free, frank, and profitable, 154.  
 ENSIGNE, mark or label, 72.  
 ENTERCAPRINGS, capering, dancing (*M. confure*), 138.  
 ENTER-KILL, kill one another, 83.  
 ENTER-PARLIE, negotiations for an armistice, 35, 67.  
 ENTERPRISE, attempt, 158, 165, 166.  
 ENTERTAIN, stop, hinder, 68.  
 ENTREATED, treated, 3.  
 EPICICLES, in Ptolemaic astronomy the name given to small circles whose centres described larger circles, 236.  
 ESSAY, "the e. of my studies fruit," *i.e.* the weighing and judging of the fruit of my studies, 86.  
 ESTATE, state, 158, etc.  
 ESTIMATION, good opinion of others, 3.  
 ESTRIGES, ostriches, 131.  
 EXASPERATE, expound, declaim against, 24.  
 EXPLICATION, unfolding, exposition, 134.  
 EXPLOIT, perform, 68, 157.  
 EXQUISITE, tender, 133; perfect, 259, 262.  
 EVES, watchings, 89.  
  
 FACILITIE OF COMPLEXION, affability, 265.  
 FAINE, feign, portray, 9, 237; desirous, 159.  
 FAINED AND FOND, hypocritical, 16, 124.  
 FAMILIAR, personal, viii., 197, 261.  
 FARRE-FORTH, "so f.-f. as," so much as, viii.; far, 214.  
 FARRE, "so f.," so free, 134.  
 FATALLY, inevitably, 18.  
 FIERCE, proud, haughty, 4, etc.; eager, 211.  
 FILTHIE, heavy, 161.  
 FIT FOR HIM = belonged to him, 159.  
 FLIM-FLAM, rubbishy, 201.  
 FONDNES, foolishness, 28, etc.  
 FOREPASSED, foregoing, 86.  
 FORE-RUNNING, preceding, 173.  
 FOREWENT, anticipated, 87.  
 FORGERS, forge-workers, 138.

FORWARD VALOUR, promising valour, 95.

FRAME, building, 253.

FRIGHTFUL, affrighted, 82.

FRIZELINGS, curls, 238.

FUSTIAN, bombastic, 192.

GAINESAY, contradict, 136; fail, 254.

GAINSTOOD, withstood, 2.

GENTLE AUDIENCE, patient a., 168.

GENUITY, contexture, "of their own g.," *i.e.* because of their very nature, 140.

GET, beget, 209.

GIANT-LIKE, as a virago (M. *hom-masse*), 238.

GIBRISH, rubbish, 61, 193.

GLISTERS, clyster, injection, 129.

GLORIOUS, boastful, 75.

GLOSSE, comment upon, 59.

GREAVES, armour for the legs, 146.

GRETIV, B and C; crusty; pretty, A; 130.

GUDGEONS, "to swallow g.," to be deceived, a gudgeon being a bait for some larger fish, 269.

HAIRE, "before the losing of his h.," *i.e.* before disease attacks him, 239.

HALE, to drag, 8, etc.

HALS, market-places, town-halls, 258.

HAMMES, hamstrings, 97.

HANSEL, to use for the first time, 125.

HARDLY, barely, narrowly, 51, 158, 194; boldly, 216, 217, 226, 254.

HARDLY-RULED, difficult to control, 176.

HEEDY, competent, 172.

HIS COMPLEXION, "its c." (*i.e.* the mind's), 200.

HIS PARTI-COLOURED TRAILE, its p.-c. t., 155.

HOLBARD, halberd, an axe-like weapon, 141.

HOLDFASTS, seizures, 98; grasp, 46, 150.

HOOD-WINCKT, blindfolded, 20, 117.

IMPEACH, hinder, 53, 69, 160.

IMPERTINENTLY, inaptly (M. *ineptement*), 204.

IMPLOYABLE, inflexible, 3.

IMPUTATION, in a bad sense, *i.e.* contempt, 31, 182.

IN FARRE BETTER TERMES, on f. b. t., 48.

INGROSSE, increase, 222.

INHIBIT, forbid, 8, 164.

INKE-POT, pedantic; 193.

IN RESPECT OF=in comparison with, 73, 238.

INSENSIBLE OF, insensibly in, 229.

INSTANTLY, urgently, 25, 38.

INSTITUTION, education, 194, etc.

INTENT, intention, 51, etc.

JACK OUT OF DOORES, *cp.* Jack out of office, Shakes. 1 *Hen. VI.* i. 1.

JADE, horse, 42.

JOVISANCE, enjoyment, 89.

JUMP WITH, agree with, 205.

KEYES OF FIELDS = power, 162.

KINGS (possessive), 75.

KINGS EVILL, scrofula, 128.

LARVES, ghosts, masked beings, 79.

LEAVE, forbear, 86, 127, 133.

LECTURE, lesson, 234; reading, 221.

LEG OR REVERENCE, bow, behaviour, 194.

LETS, hindrances, 222.

LETTER-FERITS, letter-stricken men, pedants (O. Fr. *férir*, to strike), 192.

LIBERTINE, manumitted slave, 169.

LINNEN-FLOPS, short drawers, 20.

LIVELY, simply (Fr. *naïve*), 176; vividly, 11, etc.

LOT-POT, urn for shaking of lots of chance, 91.

LULLABIE (verb), 91.

LUSTRES, adornments, 205.

MAINTAINING, justifying, 142.

MANUTENTION, maintenance, 160.

MARTINELLA, "the name of a great common bell in Florence, which they ring out in times of warre or imminent danger" (Florio's *Queen Anna's New World of Words*, 1611), 31.

MECHANICALL, of mean occupation, 211.

MEERE, completely, 21, 203; absolute, 30, 113.

MEERE FRENCH, only F., 206.

MEERE STRENGTH, sheer s., 206.

- MEERE COURTIER, nothing but a courtier, 224.  
 MERCEILLES, Marseilles, 67.  
 MINGLE-MANGLE, confused mixture (M. is speaking of centos), 208.  
 MOBILITY, changeability (A, inhability; M. *bransle*), 234.  
 MONOPOLIES, conspiracies, 180.  
 MONUMENTS, medals, 219.  
 MORTALL, deadly, 137, 175.  
 MOTIVE, means, 84, 177, 234.  
 MOTIVES OF ACCORD, overtures of peace, 29.  
 MYSTERIE, business (M. *mestier*). 197.  
 NAMELY, especially, 76, etc.  
 NATIVE, naïve, natural, 139, 257.  
 NEAREST, closely, 172.  
 NICE, fastidious, 190, 245.  
 NUZZLED, nursed, 220.  
 OBSCURED, spoilt (M. *gaster*), 242.  
 OBSERVANCE, obligation, 134.  
 OBSERVATIONS, customs observed, 152.  
 OCCASIONS, necessity, 78.  
 OF DEATH, concerning d., 105.  
 OF-SPRING, birth, 59.  
 OF=upon, 48, last line; 213, line 2.  
 ONE, "ever being o.," ever being the same, 115.  
 ONELY, sole, 3, etc.  
 OPINIATING . . . PLACE, obstinate in defending a place, 68.  
 OPINIATING HIMSELFE, being pertinacious, 125.  
 OPINION, supposition, 63.  
 OPINIONATE HIMSELFE AGAINST, stand up against, 69.  
 OTHERSOME, others, 90, 119, 189.  
 OUGHT, owed, 38.  
 OVERT, open, free, 30.  
 PANIKE TERROR, fear caused by the god Pan, 83.  
 PARING, outward crust, 203.  
 PARTAGE, "in p.," in division, 155.  
 PARTS, traits, 1.  
 PATRICIDE, enemy to one's country, 169.  
 PARTICULAR, private, viii., etc.  
 PARTICULARLY, by piecemeal, step by step (M. *par le menu*), 201.  
 PASSIONATE (verb), 102; scurvy, evil (*vilain*, M.), 120.  
 PEDANTISME, education, 241.  
 PENNED, written, 52.  
 PEPPER, "to take p. in the nose"=to take offence, 222.  
 PERIPHRAISIS, circumlocution, 93.  
 PEROQUET, parrot, paroquet, B and C; perot, A; 189.  
 PERSCRUTATION, C; thorough search; perscutation, B; preservation, A; 153.  
 PERSON, personage, character, 88, 178.  
 PERSONATE, acts, plays, 88.  
 PETTIE-GENTLE, feeble, mild, 11.  
 PHILOSOPHIE, "to P.," i.e. to study philosophy, 87.  
 PIECES, attachments, bindings (M. *liaisons*), 257.  
 PIPPE, B and C (a disease in fowls); rheume, A; 229.  
 PISSEMIRE, ants, 137.  
 PLAIDE THE DUCKE, stooped down, 64.  
 PLAUSIBLE, peaceable, 23, 235.  
 PLUM-FEEDING, plump-fattening (M. *grossir*), 191.  
 PLUNGES, "put to his p.," placed in difficulty, 177.  
 POCKETED UP, taken, suffered, 155.  
 PRECEDENT, preceding, 19, 76, 209.  
 PREOCCUPATE, anticipate, 56.  
 PRESCRIPT, prescribed, 224, 264.  
 PRESENTLY, immediately, 80, 97, 157.  
 PRETENCE OF, p. for, 158.  
 PRETENDED, intended, 87.  
 PRETENSES, pretexts, claims, 75.  
 PREVAIL WITH, commend, set off at its value, 153.  
 PRIVATION, deprivation, 98.  
 PROCESSE, trial, 49, 169, 184.  
 PROCURATION, care, management, 22.  
 PROFIT, utility, 77.  
 PROPER UNTO HIMSELFE, essentially his own, 6, 216.  
 PROPER OF EFFECTS, nature of e., 200.  
 PROPER PERSONS, own persons, 267.  
 PROPER CHARGES, own expense, 268.  
 PURPOSED, "I am not p.," I do not intend, I am not prepared, 110.  
 PUTTETH UP=putteth up with, 155.  
 QUIER, equerry, 49.  
 QUAILE, swell, 172.

QUAINT, shy, timorous, 125; elegant, viii., etc.; "precious," 256, 253.

QUAINTNESSE, ingenuity, 3.

QUICKEST, most vital, 227.

QUIDDITIES, subtleties, 241, 255.

QUIT, part with anything, 265; dispensed with, 238; leave, 169.

RANDON, random, 273; also p. 47, randon, A, B, and C.

RANGED, accustomed, 137.

RAZOR, eraser, 54.

REACH, aim, 85.

RE-ADVISE, acknowledge, 224, 225.

RECEIVE, ADMIT, be capable of, 178.

RECOVER, cure, 121, 130.

REDUCE, induce, draw forth, 73.

REGENT, teacher, 199.

REMITTS, leaves, 201.

REMOVE, move about, 16.

REQUIRED, appealed to, 13.

RESOLVE, solve, 13, 86.

RESPECT, regard, 87.

RESPONDENT OF, responsible for, 161.

RESPONDENTS, "but ill r.," no good authority, 132.

REVOKED, recalled, 59.

ROANE, Rouen, 165.

ROBBIN-GOOD-FELLOWES, brownies, 79.

ROULES, conducts, 105.

ROWLING, unsteady, 138, 239.

RUN ON POSTE, carry out his will, 123.

RUTH, compassion, 7.

SACIETIE, satiety, 228, 239.

SALLIES, "by s.," by degrees, 125.

SAME, "the s. Author," the author himself, 234.

SATURNE HIS FATHER, an old form of the possessive case, 114.

SAVAGE, wild, 153.

SAWCINESSE, animosity, malice, 128.

SCANTLING, a bit, a portion, 31.

SCAPE, escape, 80, 127.

SCAPES, "it cleerely s. her," she does without it, 239.

SCIENCE, knowledge, 270.

SCOPEFUL . . . CHARGE, liberty in their work, 77.

SCREW, winding stair, 74.

SECRET, inner place, seat, 65.

SELFE DEGREE, equal d., 53.

SEEKE, "you may go s." = all is over, 189; "to s.," wanting, 181, 191.

SEELING, winking, cringing, 230.

SEELY, simple, 50, etc.

SEELY SERVANTS, serfs, 82.

SELD-SEENE, seldom seen, 173.

SEMBLABLE, similar, 151.

SET-FLIGHTS, pretended flights, 30.

SEVERALLY, separately, 88, 148, 154.

SHOCKT, jostled, hurtled, 116.

SINGULAR, "over-s.," over-particular, 265.

SKONCE, bulwark, small fort, 36.

SMACKE, smattering, 203.

SOWNING, swooning, 120.

SPIKE, chagrin, 125.

SPOILE, put off, despoil, 108.

SPUNGED IT UP WITH, sucked in, 191.

SQUAT, hide like a hare (*M. conniller*), 178.

SQUIRE, square, measure, 215.

SODAIN, sudden, 99, 185, 202.

SOTTISH, foolish, trivial, 8, etc.

STAND TO, "if they would s. t.," being put to, or if judged by, 192.

STARTING-HOLE, loophole, hiding-place, 91.

STAY, "bring to a s.," prop up, 142.

STILL, ever, 13, etc.

STITCH, "gone through s. with it," gone through with it to the end, 178.

STOUTNESS, confidence, 236.

STREEKE, strike, surprise, 65.

STUPIDITIE, stupefaction, 10.

SUBMISSE, submissive, 2.

SUBORNED, bribed, 174.

SUCESSE, B and C; act, behaviour; A, succours; *M. fait*; 23; "the s. of," the case of, what befell, 118.

SUCCEDED, happened, 76, etc.

SUCESSES, succession of things, 89.

SUFFERANCE, disturbance, 65.

SUFFICIENT, able, 141, etc.

SUING-REQUESTS, appeals, 4.

SUPERSTITIOUS, scrupulous, 31.

SUPPLE, make up for, 129.

SURCHARGE, burden (verb), 171; sur-plus, 9, 183.

SURELY, certainly, 48.

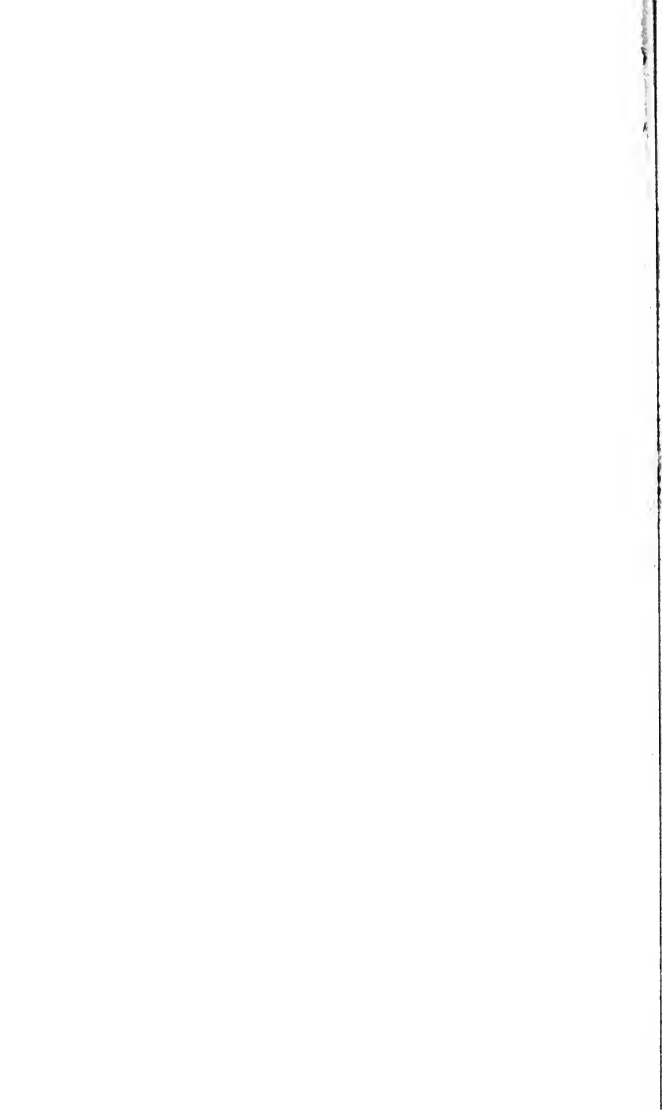
SUSPECTED, infected, insecure, 175, 178.

SUSPECTFULL, suspected, 179.

- SUTER, suppliant, 84.  
 SUTURE, joining, 131; the lines of junction of the bones of the skull, 122.  
 TABLES, "writing t.," tablets, 100; backgammon, 261.  
 TAKING, condition, 101.  
 TALLANTS, talons, 94.  
 TASTE, touch, 153.  
 TENDER, value, 165.  
 THAT, that which, 157, line 28.  
 THEN UNTO VOLUPTUOUSNES, than unto v., 89.  
 THESE ARE, those which are, 127.  
 THIRL'D, hurled, 27.  
 TONELL, funnel, 213.  
 TRADES-MASTER, one learned in the craft, 129.  
 TRANSCHANGE, alteration, 106.  
 TRANSCANGED, incorporated, 190.  
 TRAVELL, travail, work, labour, 88, etc.  
 TRUNKE, tube (*M. sarbacane*), 143.  
 UNARTED, non-cultured, 188.  
 UNCURIOUSLY, awkwardly, 194.  
 UNDER THE=to the, UNDER AN=to an, 175.  
 UNPLEASANT, paltry, 218.  
 UNSUFFERABLE, unreasonable, 206.  
 UNWITTING, unknown, 126.  
 UPON IT, because of it, 95.  
 URE, use, 40; appetite, 238.  
 VENERIAN, lustful, 124.  
 VERTUE, valour, 30, 31.  
 VILE, mean, of average quality, 43.  
 VILE OR BASE, humiliating, 2, 8.  
 VILLAINS AND CLOWNES, plebeians, of ignoble rank, 72.  
 VIZARDS, mask for concealing the face, 86.  
 VOID, eject, 162.  
 VOLUPTUOUSNESSE, show, 22; pleasure, 88, 237.  
 VOWELS, words, vocables, 134.  
 WALLOWING, tossing about, 117, 229.  
 WANTON-PULING, "an effeminate fondling, or fond carpet knight" (*Cotgrave*); *dameret*, M.; 245.  
 WARDS, secret springs, 232.  
 WARRANT, secure, guarantee, 48, 62 170, 173; evidence, 70.  
 WILINESSE, art, finesse, 110.  
 WILLED HIM, ordered him, 122.  
 WIRE-DRAW, elongate, 44.  
 WISARDS, pedants, wise men, 192.  
 WISTLY, attentively, 132.  
 WIT, understanding, mind, 37, etc.  
 WITH, "choaked w.," choked by, 94.  
 WITH THE WEAKNESSE, because of the w., 139.  
 WITTING, understanding, 46.  
 WITTINGLY, knowingly, 114.  
 WIVES, wife's, 101.  
 WREST, "to w.," to pull out, extend, 44, 205, 228.  
 WRIMPLES, folds, wrinkles, 153, 235.  
 YARKE, crack, strike out, 141.  
 YEELD, to render, 26, 89, 183.  
 YET, still, ever, viii.





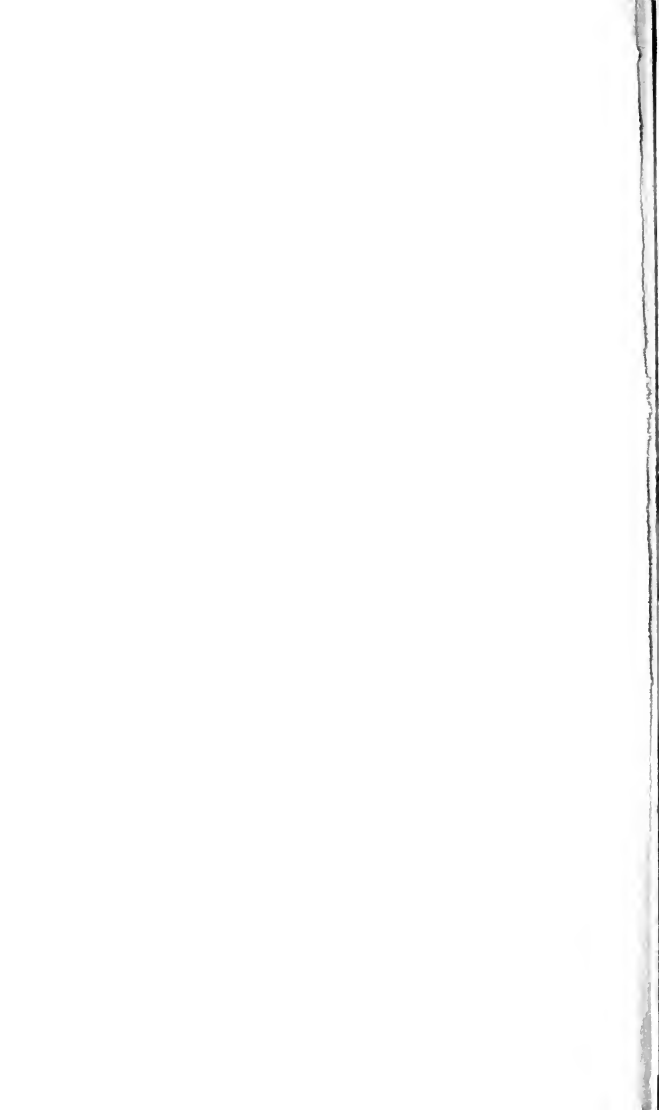


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25

28

38





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